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BY

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PREFACE

What follows has been long in the making and is indebted to many hands. Work towards a commentary on passages of direct speech in Herodotus, Book VII was begun in and around the Ancient Greek section of the Department of Classics at the University of Leiden some twenty years ago by M.L. Sicking-Meyjes, by C.M.J. Sicking, Professor (now Emeritus) of Greek, and by P. Stork, then and now Assistant Professor in the same department. The three met regularly to discuss drafts prepared by Maria Sicking and sometimes reports by Peter Stork. The commentary was always intended to be linguistic rather than historical, and to focus on issues of syntax, semantics, pragmatics and textual criticism directly relevant to interpretation, rather than of phonology, morphology, dialect, historical grammar or transmission of the text for their own intrinsic interest. From this perspective, copious notes were composed discussing most of the questions addressed by such commentators as Abicht, Van Groningen and especially Stein, parallels to nearly all of the vocabulary were investigated with the help of Powell's Lexicon, and various topics close to the research interests of the department, mostly in verbal syntax and particle usage, received especial attention.

All three major clusters as well as the shorter sections of direct speech in Book VII had been covered in this way at the time of Maria Sicking's lamented death in the winter of 1986. The resulting notes, often reworked to take account of the discussions of the three collaborators, did not however constitute a manuscript that could easily be made ready for publication under the name either of the main author or of all three contributors: they contained many aperçus, but few decisions and conclusions. Both of the co-authors felt reluctant to undertake the major revisions needed. Some years later the project was restarted under a formula whereby Johannes M. Van Ophuijsen, who had rejoined the department as Assistant Professor in 1984, would revise the material with a free hand, again submitting it to the original co-authors. It soon became clear that this entailed a complete rewriting; while the original notes by Maria Sicking and Peter Stork usually provided the point of departure, all the evidence was collected and studied anew, and no previous judgments were

deferred to. The resulting drafts, considerably fuller and more formal with a view to publication, were discussed by the current triumvirate in regular meetings over several years and revised accordingly. In this way the material for the first cluster of direct speech in Book VII, down to Chapter 18, had been licked into pre-publication consistency when Jan van Ophuijsen left the Department in 1995. It was at this stage that Peter Stork came back in full authorial force, amplifying and documenting as well as providing editorial matter and correcting while continuing to draw on Professor Sicking's advice. Fine-tuning was done between the two final authors in the Spring semester of 1998. After this we were allowed to profit from the expertise of Professor Emeritus C.J. Ruijgh of the University of Amsterdam, who refereed the manuscript for the series in which by his courtesy it now appears, with all the care and generosity by which he has put many others as well as us in his debt.

For the shortcomings that the book as it now appears is heir to, both the ones we are aware of and those it will be for others to point out, none but we can be made responsible. Whatever it may contain of value redounds by right

To the Onlie Begetter
Maria Lubina Sicking née Meyjes
1933–1986

INTRODUCTION

The present work is a sustained exercise in the genre of secondary literature which aims at explaining a literary work as much as possible in and through the author's own words: the Hellenistic, Alexandrian genre of *Homêron ex Homêrou saphênizein* or *luein*, except that in what follows it is not the earliest Greek poet but the earliest long Greek prose text which we have that has been made the object of a systematic effort to distill and analyse the linguistic information contained in it. More precisely, a crucial passage in direct speech by different speakers from the *History* of Herodotus has been scrutinised as to the linguistic characteristics relevant to its interpretation, by confronting it with the rest of the work as well as with earlier and contemporary writings.[1] This is done with the primary aim of helping to place the interpretation of a major author on the firmest ground available, the author's *ipsissimi verba.* Ideally, this could do more than throw light on single passages in a single author: given the familiar circularity of interpretation the result might be a reciprocal illumination between an individual context and the usage of an author, or genre, or period, as a whole.

We have treated questions pertaining to our limited goal in some detail and depth, at the cost of neglecting other types of data regularly presented in works aspiring to the full status of a Commentary. Little or no information on historical grammar or dialect is supplied, and no historical comments are offered. On the other hand the kinds of question for which classical philologists have long had recourse to such commentaries as that of STEIN have usually been treated at length. It is hoped that the result, made accessible by full indexes, will prove helpful to readers of any part of Herodotus' *History*.

Our approach to the linguistic evidence furnished by the text presupposes no theoretical orthodoxy. It is informed by early 20th century structuralism and by late 20th century pragmatics and discourse

[1] Such passages in direct speech are the closest thing to spoken language in a text which is unusual, perhaps unique, in its borderline status between oral composition and literature in the narrower sense of a use of language which is intended to be communicated in written form to a public of readers.

analysis, in an undogmatic way such that the study of language is kept subordinate and subservient to the interpretation of texts. A structuralist inspiration is particularly visible in our effort to resist the temptation to distinguish between discrete lexical 'meanings' of words without indicating by what syntactical or contextual features a speaker or a listener might identify the intended use of such ambiguous items, and to find unitary core connotations or clusters of connotations underlying the applicability of a word to a variety of situations and enriching its application in any particular situation. The readership to whose judgment we submit our hypotheses in this area is one of advanced students of classics who take at least a pragmatic interest in the epistemology and methodology of scholarship.[2]

Although we have focused on the spoken passages contained in Book VII, chapters 8 to 18, we have added the brief narrative sections between these both in our main text, inserting occasional notes, and in the Greek text with translation which preceeds our text. We have also given a text and translation, with some notes, for chapter 5, which contains the speech of Mardonius that first triggers off the debate of 8 to 18. The Greek text is that of the Oxford edition by Hude, with a handful of additions and modifications based on the Teubner edition by Rosén. Our translation makes few concessions to idiom or to literary sensibility; it is intended as an additional means to convey our reading of the text, rather than to be readable in its own right.

[2] Our concern with distinguishing the primary linguistic evidence furnished by the text from any secondary aids is reflected in our sparing use of punctuation. Between major syntactical units we tend to adopt the least obtrusive incision that will do: we favour comma over colons and colons over periods; and in contexts where particles such as μέν and δέ or conjunctions leave no doubt as to the structure, we often make do without any punctuation. But we have tried to make our Greek texts comprehensible rather than consistent.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABICHT	*Herodotos.* Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von K. Abicht (5 Bde). Leipzig I–II ^{5}1903. III–IV ^{3}1886. V–VI ^{4}1906. Vierter Band. *Buch VII* ^{4}1893. VIII–IX ^{4}1892
CHANTRAINE	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des Mots.* Paris 1968–1980
COD	*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* Oxford ^{8}1990
DENNISTON	J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Second Edition Oxford 1954
DK	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch* von H. Diels, herausgegeben von W. Kranz. Berlin 3 vols. ^{6}1951–1952
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Leipzig-Leiden 1922–1958
FRISK	H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg 1960–1972
VON FRITZ	K. von Fritz, *Die Griechische Geschichtsschreibung.* Band I *Von den Anfängen bis Thukydides.* Berlin 1967 (2 Bde)
GOMME & SANDBACH	*Menander. A Commentary* by A.W. Gomme and F.H. Sandbach. Oxford 1973
GOODWIN	W.W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb.* London 1889
VAN GRONINGEN	*Herodotus' Historiën met Inleiding en Commentaar* uitgegeven door B.A. van Groningen. Leiden ^{2}1955–1966
H.&W.	*A Commentary on Herodotus with Introduction and Appendices* by W.W. How and J. Wells. Oxford 1912 (2 vols.)
HUDE	*Herodoti Historiae* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Carolus Hude. Oxonii ^{3}1927 (2 vols.)
KG	R. Kühner & B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache.* Zweiter Teil: *Satzlehre.* Hannover und Leipzig ^{3}1898 (2 Bde)
LEGRAND	*Hérodote. Histoires.* Texte établi et traduit par Ph.-E. Legrand. Paris 1946–1954 [*Livre VII* 1951] (10 vols.)
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon* compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott. Revised and Augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie. *With a Supplement.* Oxford ^{9}1968
MACAN	*Herodotus. The fourth, fifth, & sixth books* with introduction, notes, appendices, indices, maps by R.W. Macan (2 vols.). London 1895

MACAN — *Herodotus. The seventh, eighth, & ninth books* with introduction, text, apparatus, commentary, appendices, indices, maps by R.W. Macan (2 vols.). London 1908

POWELL — J. Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*. Cambridge 1938 [reprint Hildesheim 1977]

POWELL *tr.* — *Herodotus* translated by J.E. Powell. Oxford 1948

ROSÉN — *Herodotus. Historiae* edidit H.B. Rosén. Leipzig (2 Bde) 1987. 1997

RUIJGH SM — C.J. Ruijgh, *Scripta Minora ad Linguam Graecam pertinentia*, I & II. Amsterdam 1991 & 1996

SCHWEIGHÄUSER — *Herodoti Musae sive Historiarum Libri IX* edidit Iohannes Schweighaeuser. Argentorati et Parisiis (6 vols.)

SCHWYZER — E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik.* Erster Band *Allgemeiner Teil. Lautlehre. Wortbildung. Flexion.* München ⁴1968

SCHWYZER-DEBRUNNER — E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik.* Zweiter Band *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*, vervollständigt und herausgegeben von A. Debrunner. München ³1966

DE SÉLINCOURT — *Herodotus. The Histories.* Translated by Aubrey de Sélincourt. Harmondsworth 1954

SMYTH — H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, revised by G.M. Messing. Cambridge, Mass. 1956

SPA — *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Philosophisch-historische Klasse

STEIN — *Herodotos.* Erklärt von H. Stein (7 Bde). Berlin I ⁶1901. II ⁴1881. III ³1877. IV ⁴1896. V–VI ⁴1882. Vierter Band. *Buch VII*, mit drei Kärtchen von H. Kiepert ⁶1908. VIII–IX ⁴1882

STORK — P. Stork, *Index of Verb-Forms in Herodotus on the basis of Powell's* Lexicon. Groningen 1987

TrGF — *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*

WACKERNAGEL — J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch.* 2 vols. Basel ²1926. ²1928

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CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

(*Herodoti Historiae* ed. K. Hude)

A	=	cod. Laurentianus LXX,3
B	=	cod. Romanus Angel. August.
B^1	=	manus prima cod. B ante correcturam factam
C	=	cod. Laurentianus suppr. 207
P	=	cod. Parisinus 1633
D	=	cod. Vaticanus 2369
D^c	=	scriptura codicis D correctione illata
S	=	cod. Sancroftianus (Cantabr. Emm. 30)
V	=	cod. Vindobonensis LXXXV
U	=	cod. Urbinas 88
a	=	ABC
d	=	DRSV
L	=	consensus codicum ABCD(E)PRSV(U)

(*Herodoti Historiae* ed. H.B. Rosén)

T	=	cod. Laurentianus plut. LXX 6
M	=	cod. Mutinensis Estensis 221 (= II. H. 6)
D.H.	=	Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De Demosthenis dictione* 41

(*Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula* edd. H. Usener & L. Radermacher)

M	Ambrosianus D 119 sup.
P	Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 58
B	Parisiensis bybliothecae nationalis gr. 1742
v	lectio post Aldinam uolgata
H	Herodotus

COMPARATIO HUDE-ROSÉN

The text and *apparatus criticus* printed below is that of Hude; the *apparatus* has at some places been supplemented from that of Rosén and for more information the reader is referred to Rosén's edition. The most important differences (not including matters of punctuation) between the editions of Hude and Rosén are listed below.

	Hude	Rosén
5.1	ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν	ἐποιέετο ἄγερσιν
5.3	οὗτος μέν οἱ [ὁ] λόγος	οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος
	περικαλλὴς [εἴη] χώρη	περικαλλὴς χώρη
8 α 1	οὐδαμά κω	οὐδαμᾶ κω
	Ἀστυάγεα	Ἀστυάγην
	ἐπέπουσι	ἐφέπουσι
	πατήρ τε ⟨ὁ⟩ ἐμὸς	πατήρ τε ἐμὸς
8 α 2	λείψομαι	λείψωμαι
	προσκτήσομαι	προσκτήσωμαι
8 β 2	ἐξεγένετό οἱ	ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ
8 β 3	[ἀπικόμενοι]	ἀπικόμενοι
8 γ 1	ὁμουρέουσαν	ὁμορέουσαν
8 γ 2	ὁμουρέουσαν	ὅμουρον ἐοῦσαν
9.1	εἶς	εἶς (*sic*)
9 β 1	καίτοι [γε] ἐώθασι	καίτοι γε ἐώθασι
	προείπωσι	προείπωσιν
9 β 2	πολεμέειν	πολεμεῖν
	Μακεδονίης [γῆς]	Μακεδονίης
9 γ	ἀλλ'	ἀλλὰ
10 α 1	ἀλλήλῃσι	ἀλλήλῃσιν
	χρᾶσθαι	χρῆσθαι
10 β 1	κατὰ γῆν ἢ [καὶ] κατὰ	κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ
10 γ 1	πατὴρ ⟨ὁ⟩ σὸς	πατὴρ σὸς
10 γ 2	καὶ τότε γε Ἰ. ὁ Μ. τ. εἰ ἐπέσπετο	καὶ τότε γε, εἰ Ἰ. ὁ Μ. τ. ἐπέσπετο
10 δ 1	βούλευ	βούλευ'

10 ε	κατὰ τοιόνδε	κατὰ τὸ τοιόνδε
10 ζ	ἔνεστι	ἔνεστιν
10 η 1	Γωβρύεω [Μαρδόνιε]	Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε
10 η 2	παρεόντος	παρεόντι
11.1	τοισίδε	τοῖσδε
11.2	Τεΐσπεος	Τίσπεος
	Τεΐσπεος	Τίσπεος
11.3	παθεῖν	παθέειν
11.4	αὐτῶν	αὐτέων
12.1	ἐγίνετο	ἐγένετο
13.1	εἴπαντα	εἰπόντα
	δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης	δ' ἐπιλαμψάσης
14	τόδ'	τόδε
15.1	ἄγγελον [ἐπὶ] 'Αρτάβανον	ἄγγελον 'Αρτάβανον
15.3	καί οἱ πάντως	καὶ (*sic*) οἱ πάντως
	ὁμοίως [ὡς] καὶ ἐμοὶ	ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ
	ὧδε ἂν	ὧδ' ἂν
16 α 1	φασι	φασιν
	φύσι	φύσει
16 β 2	αὗται	αὐταὶ
	ἐώθασι [αἱ] ὄψιες [τῶν] ὀνειράτων	ἐώθασι ὄψιες αἱ τῶν ὀνειράτων
16 γ 1	ἢ οὐ καὶ primum	ἢ οὐκὶ
16 γ 3	παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ'	παρατρέψαι ἄλλ'
	ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ	ἤδη ἢ ἐμὲ
17.2	οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . .	οὔτ' . . . οὔτ' . . .
	παθεῖν	παθέειν
18.1	ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε	ταῦτα δὴ ἐδόκεε
	ἀναθρῴσκει	ἀνθρώσκει
18.2	μεμνημένος primum	μιμνησκόμενος
18.3	οἶκε	ἔοικε
18.4	τούτων λεχθέντων	τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων
	ὄψι	ὄψει

TEXT & TRANSLATION OF HERODOTUS VII 5 & 8–18

HERODOTUS VII 5 & 8–18 (HUDE)

5 ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιός, Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων·

2 'Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.'

3 οὗτος μέν οἱ [ὁ] λόγος ἦν τιμωρός, τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιεέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς [εἴη] χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη, βασιλέϊ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

. . .

8 Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηταί σφεων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε·

α '"Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὔτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμά κω ἠτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μέν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ⟨ὁ⟩ ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι.

5 *Now Xerxes in the beginning was not at all bent on undertaking an expedition against Hellas, but held a mustering of the army against Egypt. But present (at his court) and having among the Persians the greatest influence with him, was Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, and son of Darius' sister, and he persistently argued as follows, saying:*

2 'Master, it is not beseeming that the Athenians, having wrought great harm to the Persians, as you know as well as I do, should not give due satisfaction for what they have done. Now, if for the moment you should execute that which you have in hand; and, having tamed Egypt which has run riot, then lead an army against Athens in order that you are held in good repute by men and people may afterwards watch out not to campaign against your country.'

3 *This speech to him was guarding worth, and to this argument he would make an addition as follows, how Europe was a region of surpassing outwardly apparent quality and produced trees of all kinds, of the cultivated class, and was the height of excellence, and worthy of being possessed by the King alone among mortals.*

. . .

8 *When after the taking of Egypt Xerxes was going to take in hand the expedition against Athens, he held a gathering, convened for this purpose, of the most noble Persians, in order to learn their views and on his side state what he had in mind. When they had gathered, Xerxes spoke the following words:*

α 'Men of Persia, (it is) both (the case that) I shall not (my)self lead the way in laying down the present law among you and (that) having had it transmitted to me I shall apply it. For, as I learn from those who are older, never yet have we failed to move, since we took over this present leadership from the Medes with Cyrus bringing down Astyages. On the contrary, this is both how the god leads, and as for ourselves, while we attend to many things, things turn out for the better. Now which nations Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Darius overpowered and added to their possessions, a man will not recount for those who know this well.

2 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσω οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην δέ, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν.

β μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.

2 ὡρᾶτε μέν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἵ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες.

3 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ, [ἀπικόμενοι] ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεον, [τὰ] ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες.

γ τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσαν.

2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὁμουρέουσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλά σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.

3 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων. οὕτω οἵ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἕξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἵ τε ἀναίτιοι.

δ ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν

2 I, from the moment I took over that throne, considered how I shall not fall short of those who have come to be in this dignity before, and shall acquire in addition not less power for the Persians. And while considering, I find at once renown accruing to us and land not less than that which we now possess and not less valuable but bearing more diverse fruits, and at the same time revenge as well as requital taking place. Which is why I have now gathered you together in order to convey to you what action I am minded to take.

β I am going to bridge the Hellespont and drive an army through Europe against Hellas, that I may have my revenge on the Athenians for all that they have done to the Persians and to my father.

2 Now you saw Darius too heading for a military expedition against those men. He, however, is deceased, and it was not granted to him to have his revenge. But I shall, on behalf both of him and of the other Persians, no sooner stop before I have taken and made a fire of Athens, of those men that is who took the initiative in doing wrong to me and my father.

3 First, they came to Sardes together with Aristagoras, of Miletus—and him a slave of ours—and set fire to the groves and temples; secondly, the things they did to us after we landed on their territory, when Datis and Artaphrenes led our army, this, I dare say, all of you know.

γ For these reasons, then, I have committed myself to undertake an expedition against these people, and, in making up the account, I come up finding as large benefits in these very things as the following: if we shall conquer both these and their neighbours, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall render the Persian land coterminous with Zeus' ether.

2 For as to land, there is none which the sun shall look down on as being coterminous with this of ours; no, all of them I, together with you, shall make into one land, coming out right through all of Europe on the other side.

3 For I hear it is thus, that neither anything in the way of a city of men nor any nation of people is left that will be able to meet us in battle, when those whom I have listed have been removed from our way. Thus both those who are answerable to us and those who are not, will bear the yoke of slavery.

δ Now you can do what is pleasing to me by the following actions: when I signify to you the point in time against which it

χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι· ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκῃ παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου.

2 ποιητέα μέν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλέειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.' ταῦτα εἴπας ἐπαύετο.

9 μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· '῏Ω δέσποτα, οὐ μοῦνον εἷς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους.

2 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα.

α τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται.

2 ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς, καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.

β καίτοι [γε] ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑσσουμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται.

2 τοὺς χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ

is required of you to have come, it will be necessary for every single one of you to be there fully willingly; and he that has come having his army the finest prepared, I shall give him as presents those which are held in highest esteem in what belongs to our patrimony.

2 Now these things are to be done this way; but that I may not be deemed by you to do my own will, I put the matter in the middle and ask any one of you who wishes to declare his insight, to do so.' *Having said that, he made an end.*

9 *After him Mardonius spoke:* 'My lord, not only are you the best of the Persians who have been born but also of those that shall be, you who in all else have hit the mark in speaking best and what is most true, and in particular will not allow the Ionians who are settled in Europe to laugh at us, unfit as they are to do so.

2 For it would moreover be a terrible matter if we have subdued Sacae and Indians and both Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other mighty peoples, so as to hold them as slaves, not because they have done any wrong to the Persians but from a will to acquire power in addition, but shall not avenge ourselves upon Greeks, when they have been the first to offend.

α Fearing what thing? What sort of concentration of troops? What sort of potential of money? Of men whose fighting we know and whose potential we know to be without force; and we have subdued their sons, the ones that, settled in our (land), are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians.

2 I have tried (them) myself too already when I marched against those men by your father's order, and when I had marched as far as Macedonia and had come just a little short of reaching Athens itself, nobody had encountered me in battle.

β And yet Hellenes are accustomed, as I am told, to set up battles in the most ill-advised way, through both lack of understanding and awkwardness: for as soon as they have proclaimed war on one another, they search out the finest and levelest space, and going down into that they fight, with the result that those who win get off with great harm to themselves. Of those who are defeated I do not speak at all, for clearly these are utterly destroyed.

2 These (are men) who, being of the same tongue, ought to manage their differences by employing both criers and messengers and by any means rather than by fighting. And if it were required (of them) in any case to wage war on one another, they ought

ἑκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης [γῆς] οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.

γ σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας τὰς ἁπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θάρσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθείην γνώμῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὡς εἰμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.'

10 Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο· σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε·

α 'Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω.

2 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ ἠγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε.

3 σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.

β ζεύξας φῂς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἤτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ [καὶ] κατὰ θάλασσαν ἑσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται

to search out on which side each party is hardest to overcome and make an attempt on that side. As it is I tell you the Hellenes behaved in a way one should have no dealings with when, after I had marched as far as Macedonia, their calculations never added up to a decision to fight.

γ Who then, sire, will oppose you offering battle, while you lead both the infantry from Asia and all your ships? As I deem, the power of Hellenes does not come up to that (degree) of self-confidence; but if it appeared I was deceived in judgement and these men, roused by ill-advisedness, met us in battle, they might then learn how we are best of (all) mankind in matters of war. In any case, let nothing be untried. For nothing tends to come about of its own accord, no, all things tend to come to men from trying.'

10 *After Mardonius had thus far paved the way for Xerxes' view, he had finished. When the other Persians remained silent and did not dare to express a view opposed to the one lying before them, Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, being uncle to Xerxes, a circumstance which actually gave him the confidence to do so, gave the following speech:*

α 'My king, without opinions opposed to one another having been expressed, there is no way to select and adopt the better one, but one is obliged to act by the one that has been expressed, but once opinions have been expressed, there is (such a way)—just as we do not discern pure gold itself by itself, but when we rub it side by side with other gold, we discern that which is better.

2 Now I also spoke to your father, my brother Darius, telling him not to march against Scythians, men who do not anywhere on earth inhabit a city. But he, expecting to conquer the Scythian herdsmen, did not listen to me and marched against them and came back (only) after losing many valiant men from among his army.

3 Now you, my king, are going to march against men much better still than Scythians, who are said to be both on land and at sea the most valiant. It is meet that I show you what in these things is to be feared.

β You affirm that, having bridged the Hellespont, you will drive an army right through Europe into Hellas. Evidently also defeat has been known to occur too, either by land or by sea or even by both. For the men are said to be able-bodied and there is

εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένεϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.

2 οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· ἀλλ' ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δή, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν.

γ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκηίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ ⟨ὁ⟩ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου.

2 καὶ τότε γε Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι.

δ σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτις δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα.

2 τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἧσσον εὖ, ἕσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὕρημα εὕρηκε, ἧσσον δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται.

ε ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα. φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν.

occasion to arrive at an assessment too—that is, if Athenians all by themselves destroyed so large an army, when it had come into their Attic land with Datis and Artaphrenes.

2 Now then, it has not gone well for them in both ways; yet if they attack the ships and after having won in a naval battle sail to the Hellespont and then break up the bridge, this, King, obviously becomes a thing to be feared.

γ Now I do not infer these things of my own accord by any private sagacity, no, but what an experience once nearly overtook us, when your father, having joined the Thracian Bosporus and bridged the river Danube, crossed over against the Scythians. At that time the Scythians did everything they could requesting the Ionians to whom had been entrusted the guarding of the bridges of the Danube to break up the passage.

2 Also, if at that moment Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus had sided with the opinion of the other tyrants and had not put up opposition, the affairs of the Persians had been done away with. At the same time it surely is terrible even so much as to hear in speech of all the affairs of the King having depended on one man.

δ Do not you, then, choose to get into any such danger, there being no necessity at all, but follow my advice. For now, dissolve this gathering, and at another time, whenever it pleases you, having considered beforehand by yourself, speak out openly the things that seem to be best to you.

2 For sound deliberation I find to be the greatest advantage. For even if there is something which makes for opposition, the decision has not been taken less well, but the outcome of deliberation has been worsted by chance. He, however, who has deliberated in an evil way, supposing chance sides with him, has got a windfall, but his decision has not been taken any less perniciously.

ε You see how the god hits the creatures that stand out with his lightning and does not allow them to make a show, but the small ones do not vex him a bit. And you see how he hurls off his projectiles on to those buildings which are largest in any instance and to trees of the same kind. For the god is accustomed to curtail all things that stand out. Thus even a big host is destroyed by a small one according to such a thing as follows: whenever the god conceives jealousy and casts panic or thunder upon them, they have indeed been known to be destroyed in a manner not fitting them. For the god does not allow any one other than himself to think big.

ζ ἐπειχθῆναι μέν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν.

η σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω [Μαρδόνιε], παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται.

2 διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον, ἐν τῇ δύο μέν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικέει οὐ παρεόντος κατηγορέων, ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι.

θ ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην τινὰ βούλεαι.

2 καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέϊ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἢν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς.

3 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἤ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα.'

ζ Now, precipitating every matter generates failures, from which great damage tends to come. In holding back there are benefits, which, if they do not at once appear to be there, a man may still find out with the passing of time.

η As for you, my king, here you have my advice to you; but as for you, son of Gobryas, do stop telling idle tales about the Greeks when they do not deserve to be spoken ill of. For by discrediting the Greeks you are rousing (our master) himself, the king, to make an expedition, and that in my opinion is just what you are extending all your eagerness towards. Now just don't let it happen this way.

2 For discrediting is a most fearsome thing, in which there are two who commit an injury and one who gets to be injured. For the one who discredits does an injustice accusing another in his absence; the other does an injustice letting himself be talked over before he has learnt the facts accurately; and the one who is absent from the conversation is obviously injured in the process, in that he is discredited by the one and held to be base by the other.

θ No, if it is indeed necessary by all means to have an expedition against these men, well, then let the King himself dwell in the abodes of the Persians, and do you yourself, both of us staking our children, lead an army having chosen men to join you that you feel inclined to, and taking with you any army of whatever size you please.

2 And so, if matters take their course for the King in the way you say, let my sons be put to death and I by their side; but if in the way I foretell, let yours suffer this fate, and together with them you too, if you return home.

3 And if you are not going to find it in yourself to undertake this, and yet you will in any case lead up an expedition against Hellas, then I declare that some one of those left behind here at this very spot will hear of Mardonius, after having wrought a great harm to the Persians, being carried off in different directions by dogs and birds, either somewhere in the earth of the Athenians or, you in person, in that of the Lacedaemonians, if not indeed even earlier along the way, after having had the opportunity to discern against what kind of men you are lecturing the King to undertake an expedition.'

11 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· ‘Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἶς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω.

2 μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εὖ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

3 οὐκ ὦν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἕλλησι ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί.

4 καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὥνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται.’

12 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο, μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν·

2 ‘μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἁλίζειν Πέρσῃσι στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.’

11 *That is what Artabanus said, and Xerxes, enraged, replied with the following words:* 'Artabanus, you are the brother of my father: this will save you so as not to receive any requital you deserve for your idle words. Also I impose this dishonour on you, as you are a coward lacking spirit, of not joining me in my expedition against Hellas but staying here with the women. As for me, I shall bring to completion just what I have said without you too.

2 For truly, may I not be descended from Darius the son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames the son of Ariaramnes the son of Teïspes the son of Cyrus the son of Cambyses the son of Teïspes the son of Achaimenes if I do not take my revenge on the Athenians, knowing fully well that if we are going to maintain inaction, they on the other hand, are not, but will march against our (country) with a vengeance, if one is to make an estimate from the actions initiated by them, who have set fire to Sardes and have marched into Asia.

3 For neither side, then, is it possible to back out, no, to act or to suffer is the issue in the contest that lies before (us), in order that either all that is here comes to be under Hellenes, or all that is there under Persians; for the mean is no part of enmity.

4 A fine thing, then, it becomes to revenge ourselves at this time, being the first to have suffered (wrong), in order that I may also learn this thing to be feared which I am to experience if I march against those very men whom even Pelops the Phrygian, being a slave of my forefathers, subdued with such effect that to this very day both the people themselves and their land are named after the man who subdued them.'

12 *These things were said so far; and after that, night came and Artabanus' opinion grated on Xerxes. Taking counsel with night he positively found that it was not a thing for him to do to undertake an expedition against Hellas. And when these things had been resolved by him annulling his former resolution, he fell asleep, and then it actually somehow seems that during the night he saw a vision as follows, as the Persians have it: Xerxes had the impression that a man, tall and well-shaped, stepped up to him and spoke:*

2 'So you are changing your mind, Persian, to not leading an expedition force against Hellas, when you have first told the Persians to bring together an army? Well, neither are you doing well in changing your mind, nor is he present who will agree with you. No, just as you have decided to act during the day, do you go down that one among the roads (available to you).'

13 τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἴπαντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε·
2 ‘Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ.
3 ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔστε.’ Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον·
14 νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν· ‘Ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι, ἤν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσει· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι.’
15 Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον [ἐπὶ] Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα. ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· ‘Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς·
2 μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκ ὦν δυνατός τοί εἰμι ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται.
3 εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο

13 *The man, having said these things, it was Xerxes' impression, flew away. When day had lit up he took no account of this dream; he assembled those Persians whom he had also gathered before, and spoke to them the following (words):*

2 'Men of Persia, excuse my change of plan: for in my mind I have not yet reached my prime, and those who are talking me over into doing those things (we discussed before), do not for one moment keep off from me. When, however, I listened to Artabanus' view, immediately, it is true, my youth rose and seethed so as to make me cast on to an older man unseemlier words than (I) ought to (have); now, however, having come to the same view, I shall avail myself of his view.

3 As it is my later resolution, then, not to have an expedition against Greece, be at rest.' *As the Persians heard these words they, filled with joy, kneeled and kissed the ground before the king's feet.*

14 *When night had come and Xerxes had fallen asleep, the same dream once again stood by him and spoke*: 'So you really, son of Dareius, show yourself in the midst of the Persians (to be) cancelling your military expedition and making light of my words as though you had heard them from nobody! Now know this well: if you do not make your expedition at once, the outcome of this for you will be the following: just as you have also grown to be both mighty and great within a short time, so you will also be low again speedily.'

15 *Xerxes, utterly scared by the vision, started up from his couch and sends a messenger to call Artabanus. When he had arrived, Xerxes spoke to him the following (words)*: 'Artabanus, I at first was not in my right mind, speaking in your face gratuitous words touching (your) sound advice.

2 After not much time, however, I changed in understanding, and I understood that what I had to do were those things which you advised (me to do). Now (I want you to take the point that) I am not able to do these things, wish to as I may, for while I have changed my course and come to a new understanding, there shows itself before me a dream paying visits to me, which is by no means approving of my doing these things; and now it actually uttered a threat before it was gone.

3 Now if it is a god who sends it to (me), and it is his pleasure that an expedition against Greece should by all means take

ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως [ὡς] καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας.'

16 Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε, Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον·

α '"Ισον ἐκεῖνο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι, κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἑωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι.

2 ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμένων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμένων γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναιρέο.

β νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φής τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἕλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐῶντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον.

2 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα· ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὗται μάλιστα ἐώθασι [αἱ] ὄψιες [τῶν] ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας.

γ εἰ δὲ ἄρα μή ἐστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλά τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸς συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοί, ὡς καὶ σοί, διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν, οὐδέ τι

place, (then) this very same dream will come flying to you too and state its orders the same way it has to me. I find that this can be brought about in the following way, if you assume all my apparel and, having put it on, after that seat yourself upon my throne and subsequently fall asleep on my couch.'

16 *This is what Xerxes told him, and Artabanus, though he did not comply with the first command to him because he did not deem himself worthy to seat himself on the royal throne, finally, when he was forced, did what he was told (to do) after speaking the following words:*

α 'This, my King, is equal in my estimate, both to consider well and to find it in oneself to be persuaded by him who says what is serviceable. You have in fact attained both of these, but pernicious company causes you to stumble, just as breaths of winds, they say, falling upon the sea do not allow it, of all things most serviceable to mankind, to keep to its own nature.

2 As for me, what stung me was not so much the pain of having been spoken ill of by you, as the fact that you, when there were two views lying before the Persians, one increasing pride, the other arresting it and telling that it is pernicious to prompt the spirit always to seek to have something more than what is there—that with such views lying before us, you took up the one that is more apt to trip up yourself and the Persians.

β What matters now, given that you have turned to the better (course), is your asserting that, while you are giving up the expedition against the Hellenes, a dream is frequenting you by the despatch of some god or other, which does not allow you to disband your army.

2 But these things, my son, are not of a divine nature either. For dreams that have strayed towards men are of such a nature as I will inform you (of), who am older than you by many years: those things most of all are wont to be astray as apparitions of dreams, which one ponders by daytime. And we, during the days before this, had this military expedition in hand, and that with a vengeance.

γ But if it turns out that this is not such a one as I analyse it, but something partaking of the divine, what you yourself have said summed it all up. For let it then appear to me too, as you say, continuing to command as it has to you. But it is bound to appear to me not a whit more if I wear your apparel than if I wear mine, nor a whit more if I rest on your couch

μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι.

2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθίης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἢν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἢν τὴν σήν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι.

3 εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι.'

17 τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε τάδε·

2 'Σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεαι ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι, Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται.'

18 ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρῴσκει καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε·

2 ''Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας.

than if I rest on mine, at least, that is, if it is disposed to appear at all.

2 For obviously that, whatsoever it is that is appearing to you in your sleep, has not come up to such a degree of gullibility that, seeing me, it will think it is seeing you, judging by your apparel. But if it will not take any account of me and will not see fit to appear to (me), neither if I have my own apparel on me nor if (I have) yours, but will keep frequenting you, this plainly and undeniably will be something which requires to be noted. For if, as we supposed, it will continue its visits, then I myself too would say that it is divine.

3 Now if it is your decision that it happens thus, and it is not possible to turn this aside, but it is plainly and incontestably necessary that I fall asleep on your couch, all right then, let it, as these things are carried to completion by me, appear to me too. And until such time I will keep to my present view.'

17 *Having said so much, Artabanus, expecting he would prove Xerxes to be speaking words of no account, did what he was enjoined. He put on Xerxes' apparel and seated himself on the royal throne, and as after that he had a rest, there came to him as he had fallen asleep the same dream which also came to visit Xerxes, and having placed itself over Artabanus' head it spoke the following (words):*

2 'So you really are that man who urges Xerxes away from making an expedition to Greece, as apparently being concerned for him? Let me tell you that you will not escape scot-free, either as for later or as to what is at hand now, while you are turning away what is necessarily bound to take place. And as for Xerxes, what he has to undergo if he will not listen has been made plain to him in person.'

18 *These, then, were the threats Artabanus had the impression that the dream uttered, and at the same time (he had the impression) that it was on the point of burning out the eyes in his face with hot irons; and he with a loud outcry springs to his feet and, seating himself next to Xerxes, as he has completed the story of his dream vision speaks to him a second time in the following words:*

2 'I, my Lord, as a man who has already seen many great powers felled by lesser ones, did not suffer you entirely to indulge your age, knowing that it is harmful to crave for abundance, mindful of the expedition of Cyrus to the Massagetes and how it fared, and also of that of Cambyses to the Ethiopians, and also being a participant in Darius' expedition to the Scythians.

3 ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, φθορή τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτως ὅκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν.'

4 τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

3 From a knowledge of these things, I held the view that if you kept still you were (to be) blessed by all men, but since a heaven-sent impulse is coming about and it looks like a destruction propelled by the gods is overtaking the Greeks, I myself too make a volte-face and change my view, and do you signify to the Persians what is despatched by the god, tell (them) to abide by what you first proclaimed touching their preparation, and act in such a way that, God permitting, what is yours will not be found wanting in anything.'

4 *When these things had been said, they thereupon being roused by the vision, as soon as day came, Xerxes laid these things before the Persians, and Artabanus, who earlier was the only one seen to urge away, at that time was openly seen to be urging them on.*

SPEECHES OF WAR IN HERODOTUS

Leading up to the first speech (1–5.1)

1. (1) The conventional distribution of Herodotus' λόγοι over nine books makes book 7 begin at the point where Darius, king of Persia, is acquainted with the outcome of the battle of Marathon and responds with characteristic and fateful vehemence: he decides on a Greek expedition of unprecedented scope. The only motive mentioned by H. is personal spite. (2) Elaborate preparations, taking up several years, are related in great detail; contrast the succinct introduction to the same king's Scythian expedition at 4.83.1. (3) A revolt in Egypt only serves to whet his appetite to subdue both of his opponents.

2. (1) However, before he can attempt to do so he is required to nominate his successor from among his quarreling sons. (2) There are seven of them, three by the daughter of Gobryas and four by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. The eldest-born of both broods, Artobazanes and Xerxes respectively, (3) are the pretenders, the one on the strength of his primogeniture, the other on the plea that it was his grandfather Cyrus who freed the Persians from the Medic yoke.

3. (1) The deposed Spartan king Demaratus (2) is supposed to have provided Xerxes with the additional argument that his rival was born before Darius' ascent to the throne: (3) in Sparta too a son born to the reigning king would take precedence over his elders. (4) Darius is persuaded—though actually Atossa's great influence is likely to have been decisive.

4. Darius dies, having reigned for thirty-six years. Xerxes succeeds to the throne.

5. (1) Xerxes is at first more intent on campaigning against Egypt than against Greece. Then his cousin Mardonius, a son of Gobryas and of Darius' sister, uses his influence over Xerxes in a speech. This speech is given partly as a quotation (2), partly as paraphrase (3).

5.1

ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιός, Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων·

1 μὲν om. D 2 στρατιῆς om. D | ἄγερσιν DP: ἔγερσιν rell. 3 Γοβρύεω **a**P 4 Ξέρξου DRV: Ξέρξεω S | ἀδελφῆς D

Now Xerxes in the beginning was not at all bent on undertaking an expedition against Hellas, but held a mustering of the army against Egypt. But present (at his court) and having among the Persians the greatest influence with him, was Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, and son of Darius' sister, and he persistently argued as follows, saying:

First speech of Mardonius (5.2–3)

5.2 (Direct speech)

'Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.'

1 ἤδη **d** 2 δίκην **a**P | ἀλλ' εἰ] ἀλλὰ **d**P 3 τά περ] ταῦτα SV

'*Master, it is not beseeming that the Athenians, having wrought great harm to the Persians, as you know as well as I do, should not give due satisfaction for what they have done. Now, if for the moment you should execute that which you have in hand; and, having tamed Egypt which has run riot, then lead an army against Athens in order that you are held in good repute by men and people may afterwards watch out not to campaign against your country.*'

Δέσποτα '*Master*': see on 9.1 below s.v. ὦ δέσποτα.[1]

οὐκ οἰκός **ἐστι . . . μὴ οὐ** δοῦναι δίκας . . . '*it is not* beseeming *that* (the Athenians) should *not* give due satisfaction': the duplication of

[1] P. 50.

the negative in μὴ οὐ seems to be motivated by the preceding negative expression. For a slightly different example, in which the two negative phrases, coordinated by καί, are semantically equivalent, cf. 1.187.3 Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι . . . μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι καὶ . . . μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν. . . .

οἰκός '*likely, beseeming*': both etymologizing translations are intended to bring out the continuity in the Greek expression between what is *like* some particular object and what is like things as they are, and as they presumably must be, may be expected to be, or should be, in general.[1]

ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας '*having wrought great harm to the Persians*': see on 8 β 1 below s.v. ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας.[2] In 10 θ 3 Artabanus in his 'nightmare-scenario' about what will happen to Mardonius rather pointedly uses a similar expression Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, and in 8.144.2 the Athenians refer to Xerxes himself as τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ.

ἐργασαμένους '*having wrought*': the aorist is employed to denote an action which has been realized; by contrast ἐργαζομένους would imply that the Greeks were still in the process of working mischief, or that they were merely trying to do so.

δή '*as you know as well as I do*': see on 8 β 1 below s.v. δή.[3]

δοῦναι δίκας '*give due satisfaction*': more precisely δίκη is probably an 'appointing' or assigning and the resulting 'appointment' or assignment of goods to persons, or the goods assigned. In a context involving more than one party, this notion may come to include that of a distribution of things. The plural δίκαι may refer to a package of measures serving to implement the desired assignment or corrrect distribution; in the present situation such δίκαι are required from a party which has disturbed a balance, and should be such as to redress this balance.—On δίκη in H. cf. GIRAUDEAU 1984, pp. 144–55 and COULET 1992; on δίκας διδόναι LATEINER 1980.

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[1] Cf. Dutch 'Dat lijkt nergens naar.' ~ 'Dat is ongepast.' (C.J. Ruijgh).

[2] P. 27.

[3] P. 28. The MSS. vary between δή and ἤδη in 1.166.1, 2.51.2 & 115.4 & 181.4, 3.5.3 & 53.4, 5.106.1, 7.5.2 & 235.3, 9.16.1 & 118.1. The reading ἤδη of **d** clearly is the *lectio facilior* here.

δοῦναι '*give*': the aorist infinitive, since Mardonius is here considering (not intentions but) effects: what he says is to be expected is that the requital will in fact take place.—Cf. Stork 1982, pp. 214–15.

ἐποίησαν '*they have done*': aorist, since the action has been realized (cf. ἐργασαμένους).

ἀλλ' '*Now*': the present use of the particle keeps close to its origin in ἀλλά 'other things', '(now for) something different'. In the context various considerations seem relevant: (1) a negative οὐκ οἰκός is followed by a complex positive utterance εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν . . . ἡμερώσας δέ . . . στρατηλάτεε . . .; (2), related to (1) but not identical with it, the observation that the Greeks have done harm to the Persians is replaced by the notion that people in future will abstain from attacking Persia; and (3) the speaker moves from statement to directive speech.—Cf. notes on 8 α 1, 10 β 2 & θ 1 and 11.2 s.v.,[1] and on ἀλλά in general Basset 1997.

εἰ . . . πρήσσοις '*if you should . . .*', '*say you should . . .*', '*how about executing . . .*': a reminiscence of Homer, or was the idiom more widespread? In Homer clauses beginning with ἀλλ' εἰ followed by an optative contain a suggestion to act in a specified way. The avoidance of the imperative and the ellipse of the apodosis make this construction appropriate to requests and exhortations of a polite and friendly tone (cf. K 111, Ω 74, Π 559, and perhaps also O 571 εἰ . . . (που) . . . βάλοισθα; KG II 284–5). In the present instance, with τὸ μὲν νῦν preparing the way for an additional instruction, this considerate tone is extended to the second half of the period, mitigating the force of the imperative στρατηλάτεε (cf. Stein *ad loc.*).

πρήσσοις '*execute*', present tense: 'I submit that for the moment you should do that which you are occupied in doing', i.e. 'continue', not 'finish'. Contrast 18.2 below (Artabanus) μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, where the focus is on the question how the expedition fared and where it ended.

ταῦτα . . . τά **περ** '(what you should be doing is) *that which* (you are doing)': the particle is used for identifying, answering the question 'what'.—Cf. ὅσα περ in 11.1 below with note s.v.,[2] and on περ cf. Bakker 1986, pp. 145–52 & 1993.

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[1] Pp. 16 & 93 & 137 & 158–9 respectively.
[2] P. 155.

ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις '*have in hand*': cf. 1.35.1; also ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι '*take in hand*' in 8.1 below. The English idiom happens to resemble the Greek. Cf. μετὰ χεῖρας (ἔχειν) in 16 β 2 below with note s.v. εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας.[1]

ἡμερώσας . . . στρατηλάτεε '*having tamed . . ., then lead an army*', where modern languages have two coordinated imperatives; the participle deputizes for an imperative by 'solidarité modale' (Oguse 1962).

ἡμερώσας . . . τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν '*having tamed (Egypt) which has run riot*': ὑβρίζειν is action which is evidence of ὕβρις, overstepping the natural or conventional bounds set to one, as often as not in the form of physical violence; ἐξυβρίζειν is to break into such actions. The Egyptians have done so when they ἀπέστησαν (1.3 above); the other examples in H. are Oroetes who (3.126.2) killed various Persian worthies ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα, and the Minyans who, having gained permission to settle in Sparta, soon (4.146.1) ἐξύβρισαν by demanding a share in the royal power and doing other things which were not ὅσια.

ἡμερόω has wild animals for its object in Aristotle, uncivilised peoples in H. 4.118.5, where the Scythians apply it to themselves, and 5.2.2, referring to the Thracians. Of such are not the Egyptians, of whom it is said (2.30.5) that by their settling in part of Ethiopia the Ethiopians, adopting Egyptian customs (ἤθεα μαθόντες), have become ἡμερώτεροι. Cf. on 3 below s.v. ἥμερα.[2]

ἡμερώσας '*having tamed*', cf. s.v. ἐργασαμένους above; the present tense would either imply 'while you are taming', which is diametrically opposed to the recommendation Mardonius intends to make, or 'in your attempts to tame', with the highly undesirable suggestion that a project of the Persian king could possibly end in failure.—Cf. Hettrich 1976, p. 26 and Sicking 1996, p. 17.

τὴν '*that which*': the article is not indispensable as far as factual information is concerned. It transforms the predicative adjunct '(after) having . . .' into a generalizing attributive one suggesting a more permanent property: 'the country which . . .', arguably with emotive effect: the fact that Egypt is the perpetrator κατ' ἐξοχὴν of ὕβρις

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[1] Pp. 240–1.
[2] P. 10.

turns your subduing it into a laudable example of curbing excessive pride.[1]

στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας '*lead an army against Athens*': Darius' ambitions had reached farther: vexed (κεχαραγμένον 1.1) with the Athenians, he was eager to campaign against *Greece*; in 6.94.1 it is stated in so many words that he used the Athenians as a pretext (προφάσιος) for subduing Greece.

στρατηλάτεε '*lead an army*', literally 'drive an army': in H. (12 x) an exclusively Persian pursuit and an almost exclusively royal, or at least princely one, which is true for the corresponding noun στρατηλασίη (10 x) too; cf. στρατηλάτεε 10 θ 1 and στρατηλατέῃς 14 below, and see on 14 below s.v. στρατηλασίην.[2] The verb is used exclusively in the present stem,[3] including 4 x an imperative (1.124.2, 5.31.1, *h.l.*, 10 θ 1).

ἵνα '*in order that*': the identity with the local relative adverb may be brought out in a paraphrase '... and what I envisage *at this point* is that...', or 'where there should be room for you to obtain a high reputation'.[4] Also (Xerxes) 8.1 & α 2 & β 1 & δ 2 and 11.3 & 4 below.

λόγος ... σε ἔχῃ ... ἀγαθός '*you are held in good repute*', as in 9.78.2; to be distinguished from τὸν ... λόγος ἔχει in 26.3 below, which is equivalent to ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει in 3.2 above. The way to attain to λόγος in its present sense of what is called κλέος (ἐσθλόν) in α 95, is φαίνεσθαί τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, in Atossa's words to Darius at 3.134.2.[5]

ἔχῃ '*are held*'; with this verb the aorist σχῇ would necessarily be interpreted as '*come to be* held': Greek has no word corresponding to ἔχειν precisely in the way that 'to get' corresponds to 'to have'. The point

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[1] A less pregnant interpretation would be that the article merely serves to contrast Egypt with other countries which have not run riot (C.J. Ruijgh).

[2] P. 199.

[3] With the exception of the future infinitive στρατηλατήσειν in 7.157.1.

[4] This is not to say, of course, that the *final* use of ἵνα is not syntactically distinguished from the *local* use of ἵνα already in Homer; cf. CHANTRAINE 1963, p. 268.

[5] For a comparison between 5.2 and 9.78.2 (Lampon of Aegina speaking to Pausanias) ..., ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, and 9.116.3 (Artayctes speaking to Xerxes) ..., ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι see STEINGER 1957, pp. 61–72.

is not so much that he should *guard* the fame he has; it is to avoid the impertinent suggestion that Xerxes is not already renowned.

τε . . . καί '. . . *and* . . .': also 8.1 & α 1 & β 2 & 3, 9.1 & β 1 & 2, 11.4, 12.1, 14, 16 α 1 and 18.1 below; cf. on 3 below s.v. . . . τε . . . τε.[1]—On τε . . . καί as distinct from καί . . . καί see RUIJGH 1971, pp. 146–7.

ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι '*to campaign against your country*' refers to the Athenian participation in the Ionian revolt, in particular the capture of Sardis described in 5.99–101 and alleged to be the cause of Darius' vexation in 1.1 above. As with Marathon, Xerxes himself feels free to be more explicit in 8 β 3.

[1] P. 10.

5.3 (Indirect speech)

οὗτος μέν οἱ [ὁ] λόγος ἦν τιμωρός, τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιεέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς [εἴη] χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη, βασιλέϊ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

1 ὁ om. SV | τούτου] τοῦδε **a** 2 ποιέσκετο **a**: ἐποιέετο **dP** | εἴη om. **dP** | δένδρα D 3 ἡμέτερα C | θνητῷ D

This speech to him was guarding worth, and to this argument he would make an addition as follows, how Europe was a region of surpassing outwardly apparent quality and produced trees of all kinds, of the cultivated class, and was the height of excellence, and worthy of being possessed by the King alone among mortals.

τιμωρός '*guarding worth* or *value*', presumably that of Xerxes, not Mardonius. Elsewhere in H. always in the plural, of *men* who lend support in revenge or after an attack or injury, e.g. the army promised to Sethos by Hephaestus with which he is to fight off the forces of Sennacherib (2.141.3), the Persians called upon by Pheretime to avenge Arcesilaus (4.200.1—Φερετίμης τιμωροί comes near to being a pun), the colonists dispatched to Eretria by the Athenians in response to a call for help against the Persians (6.100.1), the Cretans aiding Menelaus (171.1; in 170.3 it is not clear in what way the men of Rhegium come to be called τιμωροί to those of Tarentum). In 1.141.4 the Ionians request the Spartans to τιμωρέειν them against the threats of Cyrus. The present application of the word to a *speech* is a freer extension of its range than that to χεῖρα (Eur. *Hec.* 842–3) or even to δίκη (*fr. adesp.* 1b, 23 *TrGF*, Pl. *Leg.* 9, 872 E 2–3).—Cf. τιμωρίην 8 α 2, τιμωρέειν 11.4, τιμωρήσωμαι 8 β 1 and τιμωρησόμεθα 9.2 below with notes s.vv.[1]

τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην '*addition to his argument*': the same expression is applied to H.' own λόγος in 171.1 below.—On παρενθήκη cf. Erbse 1961, p. 244 and Cobet 1971, pp. 47–9.

ποιεέσκετο '*would make*': the iterative suffix -σκ- makes explicit what was suggested by τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο '*he held on to a speech such as follows*' in 1 above: that it took Mardonius several rehearsals of his

[1] Pp. 25 & 170 & 27 & 55 respectively.

argument to persuade the king.[1] This is confirmed by χρόνῳ 'in time' in 6.1 below.

περικαλλής, literally '*of surpassing outwardly apparent quality*', a Homeric word. The only other instances in H. are in oracular verses (5.60 & 61.1 περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα); the next occurrence in Greek prose is in Hellanicus (late 5th c.),[2] suggesting that the word may be one of those which have been revived as a consequence of the introduction of school teaching in the last quarter or third of the fifth century. The choice of such a word conveys Mardonius' urgent insistence.

[εἴη] '*was*': it is not clear why Hude prefers the reading of the MSS. which omit this verb.[3] Syntactically the effect of omitting it is to reduce περικαλλὴς χώρη to the status of an apposition:[4] '. . . this addition, that Europe, a superbly beauteous place, bears all kinds of trees . . . and (is) . . .'. This in turn, given that we have ὡς rather than ὅτι and indicative φέρει rather than oblique optative, perhaps serves to approximate or assimilate the expression to an exclamation in direct speech: '. . . this addition, "What a supremely beauteous country, Europe! It bears . . ."'. Another effect is that it saves one change of predicate, leaving only that (back?) from φέρει to an implied ἐστι. By this account εἴη could be the mistaken insertion of a scribe who failed to notice that H. has a verb in the indicative in the same clause. Alternatively, we may consider preserving εἴη and reducing καὶ . . . ἥμερα to the status of a parenthesis, which would incidentally make some sense of the difference in mood:[5] '. . . that Europe is a superbly beauteous place—it even bears all kinds of trees of the cultivated varieties—and is the height of excellence, and fit for the king alone among mortals to possess'.

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[1] Preterites with a -σκ-suffix are quite frequent in H., predominantly imperfects: 43 imperfects, 3 aorist indicatives and 1 instance (9.74.1) where the MSS. differ in reading an imperfect or an aorist indicative, all of them either third person singular (28 x) or plural (19 x), most of them active (43 x) and only a small number middle (4 x). On these forms cf. ROSÉN 1962, pp. 125–6.

[2] Hellanicus 4 F 55 *FGrH* ἀνθέων . . . περικαλλεστάτων.

[3] ROSÉN prints περικαλλὴς χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα; LEGRAND περικαλλὴς εἴη χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρουσα ἥμερα.

[4] As C.J. Ruijgh points out, it could in that case also simply be a 'Nominalsatz'.

[5] For the change in mood in general cf. KG II 365–6; for φέρει in particular *h.l.* cf. COOPER 1974, p. 48 n. 25.

δένδρεα '*trees*': a rare commodity for Persians. In 31 below, Xerxes will crown a particularly fine specimen with gold and appoint a guard to keep it.

τά '*the*': in virtue of its place, after a noun and one adjective but before a second adjective, the article introduces a specification: 'trees of all kinds, of the cultivated class'.

ἥμερα of the vegetable world '*cultivated*', opposed to ἀγρίων '*wild*' in 8.115.2; it is applied to δένδρεα also in 9.97 and to the ἐλαίη in particular in 5.82.2; cf. on 2 above s.v. ἡμερόω.[1]

ἀρετὴν '*excellence*' is likewise applied to a country in 4.198.1 and, in the same combination with outward appearance (κάλλει, cf. περικαλλής above), in 8.144.1, and to cotton in 3.106.3 (again in combination with καλλονῇ).

. . . τε . . . τε '. . . *and* . . .' amounts to a split, or compound, coordinator which is as neutral as possible with regard to the relation between the coordinated items;[2] what is problematic in the present instance is the connection with the first half of the subordinate clause, which involves the questions discussed above s.v. εἴη. But whichever solution to these may be adopted, the most natural punctuation is not with a comma between the two members coordinated by τε . . . τε;[3] if there is any deeper incision within the subordinate clause, it is that *before* ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη, not after it.—On (H.' use of) connective τε (single or otherwise), see HAMMER 1904, pp. 2–38, BROUWER 1975, pp. 85–94, GONDA 1954, RUIJGH 1971, pp. 168–75.

ἄκρη '*highest* (+ acc. *in*)', '*the height* (+ acc. *of*)', e.g. 1.73.4 ὀργήν '*in temper*', 5.124.1 ψυχήν '*in spirit*', 7.111.1 τὰ πολέμια '*in the arts of war*'. Contrast 5.112.1 νηυσὶ . . . ἄκροι γενόμενοι '*proving themselves in excellent shape by their ships*', i.e. '—*by sea*', with a dative mentioning the means

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[1] P. 5.

[2] But cf. RUIJGH 1971, pp. 170–1: 'Or, on constate, que le plus souvent, τε connexif sert à combiner deux faits entre lesquels il existe un lien particulièrement stable: les deux faits coïncident dans le temps et sont souvent les deux facettes d'un seul procès, ou le second fait est déjà impliqué dans le premier, ou les deux faits sont exactement du même ordre logique dans le cadre du récit ou du discours. . . . Il est donc clair que καί est le terme neutre, τε le terme marqué de l'opposition: on peut toujours substituer καί à τε, mais non pas inversement.'

[3] As is done by HUDE and LEGRAND; ROSÉN does not print any comma at all in the subordinate clause. On *h.l.* in particular cf. HAMMER 1904, p. 6 and DENNISTON p. 500.

by which, instead of an accusative specifying the respect in which they excel.

ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι '*worth possessing*': the active interpretation of the infinitive is the more obvious one, even though the passive, '*worthy of being possessed*', cannot be formally excluded, and sits more easily with the adjunct 'alone (among mortals)'. The difference, whether in Greek or English, is in any case one of syntax alone without any implications for the truth value or wider sense. In general the Greek language admits both alternatives; contrast 3.125.2 'no tyrant is ἄξιος . . . συμβληθῆναι, *deserving to be compared* to Polycrates', with 4.42.1 'in width Europe seems to me οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίη, *not even worth comparing* to other continents'. Compare also 9.77.1 'the Mantineans claimed ἄξιοι . . . εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι *to deserve that (people) should punish them*'.—For the perfect cf. Keil 1963, p. 28.

Xerxes persuaded (6–8.1)

6. (§ 1) Mardonius is motivated by his ambition to become governor of Greece. In time he succeeds in persuading Xerxes, helped by (§ 2) invitations from Thessaly and by the sons of Pisistratus, (§ 3) who have the oraclemonger Onomacritus (§ 4) recite the prophecies most favourable to Xerxes, (§ 5) while they themselves, as well as the messengers from the Aleuadae in Thessaly, offer their free advice.

7. Having been persuaded, Xerxes first subdues Egypt, entrusting it to his brother Achaemenes.

8. Then Xerxes summons a council of war. He is the first to speak.

8.1

Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηταί σφεων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε·

2 τὸ om. **a** 3 τε om. DRV 3–4 πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλῃ DV: πάσῃ εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει R: πᾶσι εἴῃ τὰ θέλει C 4 ἔλεξε **a**S

When after the taking of Egypt Xerxes was going to take in hand the expedition against Athens, he held a gathering, convened for this purpose, of the most noble Persians, in order to learn their views and on his side state what he had in mind. When they had gathered, Xerxes spoke the following words:

First speech of Xerxes (8 α–δ)

8 α 1

‘"Ανδρες Πέρσαι, οὔτ’ αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμά κω ἠτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μέν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ⟨ὁ⟩ ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι.’

2 γὰρ om. D.H. 3 οὐδαμά κω] οὐδένα χρόνον D.H. | ἠτρεμίσαμεν AB: ἠτρεμήσαμεν rell. D.H. 4 Ἀστυάγην L (-ειν B) D.H. | οὕτω] οὗτος **d** 5 ἐνάγει D.H. | ἐφέπουσι AB**d**: ἐπιοῦσι D.H. 6 ὁ D.H. 7 καὶ προσεκτήσαντο om. D.H. | εὖ om. D.H.

‘*Men of Persia, (it is) both (the case that) I shall not (my)self lead the way in laying down the present law among you and (that) having had it transmitted to me I shall apply it. For, as I learn from those who are older, never yet have we failed to move, since we took over this present leadership from the Medes with Cyrus bringing down Astyages. On the contrary, this is both how the god leads, and as for ourselves, while we attend to many things, things turn out for the better. Now which nations Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Darius overpowered and added to their possessions, a man will not recount for those who know this well.*’

ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ‘men of Persia’: cf. 3.71.4 (Darius) ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες (... ἐπίστασθε) ‘*men who are present* (... *know*)’, 6.130.1 (Cleisthenes) ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες ‘*men who are wooing my child*’. As a form of address the pattern is common enough in H.,[1] but this particular collocation ἄνδρες Πέρσαι recurs only at 1.126.5 (Cyrus), 13.2 below and 8.118.3 (both Xerxes). In 7.53.1 Xerxes uses ὦ Πέρσαι in addressing the same Persians as in 8 α 1 & 13.2.[2]

οὔτε ... τε ‘*(it is) both (the case that) ... not ... and (that) ...*’ coordinate two statements, one negative and one positive, so as to lend them equal weight. Cf. KG II 291–2, Denniston p. 508 *sub* (4). However, when the one statement is virtually the obverse of the

[1] Powell s.v. ἀνήρ IV 5.c i. lists 31 instances.

[2] 7.53.1: μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ’ ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρηίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι.

other, as here, the effect of the construction is much the same as that of οὐκ A ἀλλὰ B 'not A but B', with the first colon serving as little more than a foil for the second:[1] compare the polar expression in the next sentence, οὐδαμά κω ἠτρεμίσαμεν . . . · ἀλλὰ . . . αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι κτλ. One difference is that with οὔτε we are notified beforehand that a second member is to follow.

αὐτός '*(my)self*', isolating a person or thing from, or contrasting it with its surroundings, often carries connotations of '*by* (my)self, on (my) own (account), of (my) own accord, under (my) own steam.'

κατηγήσομαι . . . τιθείς/παραδεξάμενος . . . χρήσομαι '*I shall lead the way, laying down/having had transmitted to me, I shall apply*': the construction of both members is neatly parallel, the order chiastic, which is to be regarded not as a stylistic refinement but as the more natural order.

κατηγήσομαι '*I shall lead the way*' or '*I shall introduce*'? The verb is used absolutely in 6.107.2, 7.130.1, 9.40 & 66.3; with a dative for the person who is shown the way in 6.135.2; and with an accusative for the phenomenon introduced or instituted in 2.49.1 (the phallus) & 56.2 (an oracle). In 3.134.5 ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι is formally ambiguous, but only the intransitive use suits the context. The present instance appears to be genuinely ambiguous in so far as νόμον τόνδε could well be, yet need not be, the object of κατηγήσομαι as well as of τιθείς. Arguments in favour of the interpretation ἀπὸ κοινοῦ are (1) word-order, not so much because the nominal phrase is in the middle as because of the fact that of the two verbs it is κατηγήσομαι which precedes it and with which it could form a potentially complete main clause even without the other verb, and (2) the parallelism between both clauses. The decisive argument against it is precisely the reverse of these two: that with a transitive main verb the participle τιθείς seems otiose, having little other use than to balance the participle which follows it.—The use of the future, which is not required by the content of this part of the statement as such, may be illuminated by two considerations which are not mutually exclusive: (1) it often imports an element of volition, 'I do not *propose, intend* to . . .'; (2) combined with οὔτε it creates the expectation of a genuinely future second statement, which is met by χρήσομαι: 'what I am going to

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[1] Cf. Brouwer 1975, p. 88.

do is (not to break new ground by imposing the present law but) to avail myself of that which has come down to me'.

νόμον τόνδε '*the present law*': on νόμος in H. cf. Giraudeau 1984, pp. 115–35.

τόνδε '*this*', '*the present*': for further identification we have to wait until the next sentence, in which γάρ acknowledges that there remains a gap in our information to be filled.—For (νόμον) τόνδε cf. Treweek 1981, p. 29.

τιθείς '*laying down*': unique among all institutions of laws in H.[1] in that the verb is not middle but active. The point is perhaps that while other legislators, such as Solon in book I (29.1 & 2), are bound to abide by their own laws, no such restriction applies to the more Hobbesian king of Persia.

παραδεξάμενος '*having had transmitted to me*', in 6 out of 11 occurrences in H. *by inheritance*, e.g. a war (πόλεμον 1.17.1 & 18.2), or power (τὴν ἀρχήν 1.102.1, τυραννίδα 7.164.1).

οὐδαμά κω ἠτρεμίσαμεν . . . ἐπείτε . . . '*never yet we have failed to move . . . since . . .*': we might perhaps have expected the temporal clause to come before the main verb, but for the facts that (1) one dependent clause has already preceded, and (2) the 'present law' (νόμον τόνδε) of the previous sentence needs to be identified.

οὐδαμά κω '*never yet*': although our context regards explicitly only the past, it is worth recalling that οὔ πω and related expressions are capable of being used to envisage all time, rather in the way that the 'empiric' or 'gnomic' aorist may be taken to express a timeless general statement. Cf. Van Groningen 1953, pp. 21–3, Goodwin § 155–9.[2]

ἠτρεμίσαμεν '*we have failed to move*'; the verb again in 18.3 below. The Ionic verbs ἀτρεμίζειν and ἀτρεμέειν (ἠτρεμήσαμεν is a variant here) derive from the adverb ἀτρέμας '*without motion*', itself from τρέμω '*to tremble*'. The former especially is found with a negation more often than without one (only in 18.3),[3] and used figuratively (8 α 1 & 18.3

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[1] E.g. 1.29.1 & 2 & 82.8 & 146.3, 2.177.2.

[2] For the 'empiric' aorist, denoting 'a fact of experience', as distinguished from the 'gnomic' aorist, expressing 'a general truth', see e.g. Smyth § 1930–1.

[3] But the un-negatived use, as opposed to coalescence into a virtual compound, is also implicitly operative in 1.190.2 οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα ἀλλ' . . . ἐπιχειρέοντα.

and 1.185.1 & 190.2) more often than literally (9.74.2),[1] applied especially to political and military activities. It is used here, as in 1.185.1, without reference to any particular physical movement in the immediate context. 'We have never yet been idle', Xerxes is idiomatically reminding his staff.

ἐπείτε '*since*', again in α 2 below: there is no need to posit, as POWELL does, s.v. I.3, a separate use of temporal ἐπείτε for those few instances (9 out of 194) in which it may be translated by 'since' rather than by 'when' or 'after': these versions reflect differences in the relations between the actions referred to, which are matters of extra-linguistic reality, indicated by the contexts.[2]

παρελάβομεν '*we took over*': an unspecific term whose distribution overlaps with that of παραδέχεσθαι above in the case of inherited rulership, while extending to less peaceful take-overs such as the present (cf. κατελόντος) and that by the Magus in 3.68.5.

ἡγεμονίην '*leadership*', not just ἀρχήν '*rule*', as envisaging the supremacy of a dynasty and indeed of an entire people rather than the reign of one prince.

τήνδε '*this present*', i.e. which in time extends to the present moment and in space is before your eyes in my person.

κατελόντος '*bringing down, having brought down*', i.e. '*laid low*', a common connotation of this verb which is literally equivalent to 'to take down' and which usually in H. has objects which are human.

ἀλλά '*on the contrary*': thus employed, introducing a positive sentence after a negative one, the particle remains closest to its origin in ἄλλα 'other things', 'something else': 'not A, *no*, B', German *sondern* as opposed to *aber*.—Cf. BASSET 1997, pp. 97–8.

θεός . . . ἄγει '*the god drives at*' or '*leads*', without any explicit object, as at Soph. *O.C.* 253 & 998 and, with οὕτως as here, in Xen. *An.* 6.3.18(16). The juxtaposition, by means of τε . . . καί,[3] of this clause with one beginning αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν is against mentally supplying as

[1] 8.68 β 2 shows the transition from the literal to the metaphorical use.
[2] Cf. RIJKSBARON 1976, pp. 104–5.
[3] Cf. on 5.2 above s.v. τε . . . καί p. 7.

object 'us'. The expression has a wide and general reference to things that 'come as they must come'. The Athenian audience of H.' lectures can be trusted to have appreciated the tragic irony of Xerxes' sanguine utterance. Cf. the δαιμονίη ὁρμή and φθορὴ θεήλατος of 18.3 below.

αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν '(as) for *us*/our*selves*', i.e. abstracting from divine dispensation.

ἐπέπουσι '*attending to, while we attend to*': πολλὰ ἐπέπειν is the positive counterpart, and virtually equivalent, to οὐκ ἀτρεμίζειν in the widest sense. For the present choice of this word, in H. found only *h.l.* and otherwise limited to poetry,[1] cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 552 Ξέρξης δὲ πάντ' ἐπέσπε δυσφρόνως—those of H.' listeners who were sufficiently familiar with this play will have mentally contrasted H.' ἄμεινον with the tragic poet's δυσφρόνως in a position of similar emphasis.

συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον '*things come about, turn out for the better, go well*': the reward issued to those who obey an oracle, e.g. 4.15.3 πειθομένοισι . . . ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι; by contrast in 4.156.1 after a failure to do so συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως 'things went wrong'. The general idea seems to be that while what the gods drive at is inescapable anyway, we can still do well for ourselves by cooperating. Conversely at Aesch. *Pers.* 742 Darius has learnt that ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χὠ θεὸς συνάπτεται.

μέν νυν '*Now*': μέν prepares for the new topic to be introduced by ἐγὼ δέ, with νυν distilling from the preceding general statements the background information relevant to this topic. The transition is less abrupt than it would be with μὲν ὦν, aptly so in view of the fact that the new topic overlaps with the scope of these preliminaries, which were confined to the past but included Xerxes: there is a shift rather than a switch of focus.[2] Cf β 2 & δ 2 & 10 ζ below with notes s.v.[3]

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[1] For the active (ἐφ)έπω (Powell s.v. ἐπέπω I) deriving from *sep- as distinct from the middle (ἐφ)έπομαι (Powell *ibidem* II) deriving from *sek^{w}-, cf. Frisk s.vv. ἕπω and ἕπομαι.

[2] Contrast also μὲν δή as in 10 η 1 below with note s.v. (σοὶ) μὲν δή . . . σὺ δέ.

[3] Pp. 29 & 48 & 121 respectively.

πατήρ τε ἐμός '*father (of) mine, of me, my father*', without the article,[1] in apposition to the name, where the person is introduced into this conversation; contrast πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν in β 1 & 2 below.

κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο '*overpowered and added to their possessions*'. The pattern resembles that of κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε '*overpowered and persuaded*' in 6.1 above, except that there the split coordinator τε καί amalgamates the action of both verbs into one process, with the second verb specifying the nature or manner of the κατεργάζεσθαι, whereas here καί marks the second member as an addition: the first verb takes us to the point where Xerxes' predecessors had a people in their power, the second goes on to tell us how they used this power.—Stylistically a conspicuous and impressive weight, appropriate to a Commander-in-Chief's call to arms, is bestowed on the present phrase by a *parison* and *homoioteleuton* worthy of Gorgias. There is no need to suspect the latter's influence: strategies and theories of persuasion do not precede but follow upon the effective use of the resources of a language. The pre-theoretical stylistic exploitation of the formal structure of a highly inflected language is most clearly paralleled in Classical Arabic.

κατεργάσαντο '*overpowered*', whether of land conquered as here, of men killed as at 9.106.1, or of a woman (not) seduced as at 9.108.1. These instances of 'negative' κατ(α)- may be related to more favourable uses such as that in 102.1 ἀρετὴ . . . ἀπό . . . σοφίης κατεργασμένη . . ., via the application of the verb to the cultivation of land, as in Aesch. *Ag.* 525–6 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα . . . | Διὸς μακέλλῃ τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.

ἐπισταμένοισι . . . οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι '*a man will not recount for those who know this well*', like 3.103, with H. speaking in his own person, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὐ συγγράφω 'I do not write down for the Greeks, who know it'. The looser connexion of that dative with συγγράφω suggests that here too slightly more than just 'to tell you' may be intended: 'to relate for your benefit'. This would tally with the fact that λέγειν may connote rather more than telling or saying, e.g. counting and listing.

[1] The article is added by Hude on the authority of the text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Legrand prints πατὴρ τε ὁ ἐμὸς, but Rosén πατὴρ τε ἐμὸς.

οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι '*there can be no question of (a man) recounting*', a firm denial (οὐκ) of the possibility of imagining (opt.) that the verb should apply under any conditions (ἄν).[1] In 4.97.5 a construction of this pattern is paired with a future indicative in a polar expression ἕψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἄν λειφθείην.

[1] Cf. e.g. 6.63.2 (Ariston about the baby his spouse has just given birth to): οὐκ ἄν ἐμὸς εἴη.

8 α 2

'ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσω οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην δέ, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν.'

1 τοῦτον **d** D.H.: τοῦτο **a**P 2 λείψομαι D[1]P D.H. P: λείψωμαι rell. D.H. MBv 2–3 προσκτήσομαι P: προσκτήσωμαι **ad** D.H. 3 ἡμῖν **d** D.H.: ἡμῖν τε **a**P 4 προσγενόμενον D.H. MBP | χώρης **a** 4–5 φαυλοτέρην SV[1] 5 δέ, ἅμα δὲ] δὲ ἅμα δὲ T Ald.: δὲ ἅμα τε C: τε ἅμα δὲ rell. D.H. | καὶ τιμωρίην τίσιν (τίσι RSV) **d** | τε om. D.H. | διὸ] διὰ δὴ ταῦτα D.H. 6 νῦν om. **d**P | τὸ νοέω] ἃ διανοοῦμαι D.H. | ὑποθῶ D.H.

'I, from the moment I took over that throne, considered how I shall not fall short of those who have come to be in this dignity before, and shall acquire in addition not less power for the Persians. And while considering, I find at once renown accruing to us and land not less than that which we now possess and not less valuable but bearing more diverse fruits, and at the same time revenge as well as requital taking place. Which is why I have now gathered you together in order to convey to you what action I am minded to take.'

ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον '*from the moment I took over that throne*': the echo of ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε in α 1 calls attention to the successive stages in the narrative.—On ἐπείτε cf. RIJKSBARON 1976, p. 104.

τὸν θρόνον '*the throne*': there is nothing against taking the word literally. It is found as a metaphor denoting royal power in tragedy but, as STEIN notes, only in the plural, as e.g. Soph. *O.C.* 425 σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους ἔχει. It is worth comparing 52.2 σῷζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ . . . σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω, where the plural is not so much used to exclude the material object as to include all that it stands for,[1] in particular the τυραννίδα just mentioned; contrast 3.142.3 σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα, where the symbolic value is immediately made explicit in the second item.

τοῦτον '*that*', i.e. that which was occupied by the predecessors just mentioned. By using τόνδε Xerxes would characterize it as his at the

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[1] Cf. τὰ τόξα in the sense of 'bow and arrows' (C.J. Ruijgh).

time of speaking, cf. (τὴν ἡγεμονίην) τήνδε in α 1 above with note;[1] by contrast ἐκεῖνον would imply that it had passed out of the family.

ἐφρόντιζον . . . φροντίζων δὲ . . . '*I . . . considered . . .; and while considering, I . . .*' On this type of participial clause chaining see VAN OTTERLO 1944, pp. 23–5; BECK 1971, pp. 4–6, BROUWER 1975, p. 22, MÜLLER 1980, pp. 61–3.[2]

ἐφρόντιζον . . . φροντίζων: 19 instances of the verb in H.; individuals to whom the activity is ascribed include Croesus (1.56.1) and Polycrates as prompted by Amasis (3.40.4), as well as Xerxes' predecessors Cyrus (1.125.1 & in his own direct speech 155.1) and Darius (in the words of his own letter 5.24.1). Cf. φροντίζει 16 β 2 below with note s.v.[3]

ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι '*how I shall not*'. To adopt the indicative mood is to forego the opportunity to present the proposition as hypothetical: the possibility that the object should not be achieved is not taken into account. By contrast the subjunctive read by most MSS.[4] would mark the situation described as conceivable.[5] The negation μή, which is regular after *verba curandi*, conveys that the non-achievement would be undesirable: 'how I shall not, as I do not wish, fall short . . .'.

γενομένων ἐν '*have come, got to (be in)*': more often with names of places, as in 44 ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ.[6]

τιμῇ '*dignity*', referring to the royal office as in 1.91.1 (Gyges has killed his δεσπότης and assumed this man's τιμή) and in 104.2:

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[1] P. 16.

[2] Cf. Theocr. 2.113 . . . ἕζετ' . . . ἑζόμενος . . . and DOVER 1971 p. xlvi & lxii.

[3] P. 240.

[4] ROSÉN prints λείψωμαι . . . προσκτήσωμαι, referring to KG II 376 Anm. 5, which deals with the difference between the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive in object clauses after verbs of *effort*. As C.J. Ruijgh points out, *λείψωμαι is not a real alternative, because the aorist subjunctive would be λίπωμαι.

[5] On the difference between the future indicative and the subjunctive in object clauses after verbs of *effort* cf. e.g. AMIGUES 1977, p. 296: 'De même que le futur indique la virtualité du résultat recherché, l'idée "désidérative" étant en fait suggérée par l'ensemble de la construction, de même le subjonctif, sans marquer par lui-même la volonté du sujet, donne une représentation abstraite du but visé.' On p. 27 AMIGUES lists instances of the future indicative in object clauses after φροντίζω in Attic prose.

[6] POWELL s.v. γίνομαι lists this instance under IV. 'simply equiv. εἶναι', 1. 'aor. and pf. (where εἶναι is defective)' and that in 44 under IV.5 'w. expressions of place, *come, get*.' In both cases γίνεσθαι denotes the dynamic process which leads to a situation of εἶναι; for οἱ πρότερον γενόμενοι ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε cf. in later Greek ὁ γενόμενος στρατηγός 'the former general' (C.J. Ruijgh).

Demaratus deprived of his τιμή and γέρεα 'privileges'. In Aesch. *Pers.* 762 τιμὴν τήνδε is actually applied to Persian kingship, and claimed (by Darius) to be bestowed by Zeus.—For deictic τῇδε in ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε cf. TREWEEK 1981, p. 29.

προσκτήσομαι '*I shall acquire* (*in addition*?)', whether πρός the δύναμις he already has, cf. 3.21.3 γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν, 6.44.1, or πρὸς Πέρσῃσι as it were, the way LSJ interpret 5.31.2 νήσους βασιλέϊ προσκτήσεαι, cf. 3.120.3.[1] The absence of any other prepositional or dative complement than Πέρσῃσι would seem to favour the latter alternative, yet the absence of any such complement whatsoever in α 1 above and in 9.2 below supports the former. None of the other instances of the verb in H. (there are 16 in all), nor the one instance of προσεπικτῶμαι at 1.29.1, nor that of ἐπικτῶμαι at 2.79.1, seems to clinch the matter. The same ambivalence 3.134.1 ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτησαι οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι, a similar one 6.135.1 οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος. Contrast κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον below, which should be understood as 'in addition to the κῦδος we already possessed', since the relation with ἡμῖν would be established by the simple verb γινόμενον alone.—The object is most often land, in α 1 above ἔθνεα 'nations'; it is δύναμιν 'power', as here, again in 9.2 below and in 3.134.1, where this object is even more closely associated with ἔθνος (see above). This expansionism, surely a species of πλεονεξία, is a recurrent motive for Persian activities in H., with the king making conquests 'for the Persians' in 3.134.1 as well as here, and on the other hand his underlings doing so—or, like Oroetes, failing to do so (οὐ προσεκτήσαο 3.120.3)—'for the king'. In Aesch. *Pers.* 754–6 Atossa informs Darius of a similar incentive to Xerxes' actions, but there the emphasis is on wealth (πλοῦτον 755, ὄλβον 756) rather than power, and on the shame of ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν.

εὑρίσκω '*I find*', in H. more often than not reinforced by a participle, as here. In some, though not all, of these combinations (with πυνθανόμενος and συμβαλλόμενος as well as with φροντίζων and when standing on its own; not conspicuously so with διζήμενος, ἱστορέων, and λογιζόμενος) there appears to be a tendency for the verb to take the present tense when it is in the first person. It may be suspected that the reference of the verb is not confined to the *moment* of reve-

[1] 3.120.3 . . . ὃς βασιλέϊ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο.

lation but extends to the *state* of enlightenment following it; cf. ἥκειν and ἥκῃ in δ 1 below with note s.v. ἥκῃ,[1] and cf. εὑρίσκω in 10 δ 2 (Artabanus), 15.3 (Xerxes), the imperfect εὕρισκε (Xerxes) in 12.1 below with notes,[2] and ἀνευρίσκω in γ 1 below with note.[3] Cf. KLOSE 1968, p. 211.

κῦδος '*renown, glory*': an epic word, found elsewhere in H. only in a votive epigram (4.88.2) and in an oracle (6.77.2). The earliest occurrence in prose appears to be in an aphorism ascribed to Democritus (68 F 215 DK) by Stobaeus (3.7.31),[4] if that is earlier than the present context. It is apt to refer once more to Aeschylus' *Persians*, cf. s.v. προσκτήσομαι above, for κῦδος is the contrary of the ὄνειδος of ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν mentioned there.

κῦδος . . . (τε) . . . χώρην τε '*renown (accruing) to us and land*': the first τε should be kept as a *lectio difficilior*.[5] What difficulty there is, is in word order: the postponement of the particle (i.e. κῦδος ἡμῖν τε instead of *κῦδός τε ἡμῖν)[6] serves to set κῦδος and ἡμῖν apart as relating primarily to each other. Xerxes appears to be referring to 'my *house*' or even, by a virtual majestic plural, to 'my*self*' rather than to 'us Persians': the κῦδος, then, corresponds to μὴ λείψομαι in the preceding sentence, just as χώρην . . . οὐκ ἐλάσσονα corresponds to μηδὲ ἐλάσσω . . . δύναμιν.[7] For H.' positioning of τε cf. 6.136.2 ἑλὼν Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγούς.[8]

προσγινόμενον '*accruing, added*': the preverb προσ- relates to the original stock added to. When this is mentioned explicitly it is in a dative preceded by the preposition πρός; here it has been made sufficiently obvious by the preceding sentences. Contrast γινομένην below: the τιμωρίη and τίσις are a new venture.—The participle is in the present tense and, in the absence of an ἄν,[9] must represent the indicative

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[1] P. 46.

[2] Pp. 109 & 213 & 175 respectively.

[3] P. 37.

[4] Democritus 68 F 215 DK: δίκης κῦδος γνώμης θάρσος καὶ ἀθαμβίη, ἀδικίης δὲ δεῖμα ξυμφορῆς τέρμα.

[5] ἡμῖν **d** D.H.: ἡμῖν τε **aP**.

[6] As LEGRAND actually considers reading: 'An κῦδός τε ἡμῖν?'

[7] For the *lectio facilior* with a single τε after χώρην cf. BROUWER 1975, p. 90.

[8] Although here one might think of a slight shift in construction, ἑλὼν Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Πελασγούς being modified by inserting the specification τεισάμενος (C.J. Ruijgh).

[9] Contrast εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα in 15.3 below with note s.v. ἂν γινόμενα p. 213.

mood appropriate to a statement of fact: Xerxes flatters himself that fortune is already lavishing her favours.[1]

φλαυροτέρην '*less valuable*', a fairly general term of depreciation, 'below par', as opposed to ἀγαθός, καλός, and χρηστός. A less unfavourable term than φαῦλος, from which it follows that οὐ φλαυροτέρην is a stronger statement than the variant οὐ φαυλοτέρην found in some MSS.: 'nor less valuable' as opposed to 'and no more worthless'; moreover φλαυρός is more distinctively Ionic. Here, coming after ἐλάσσονα, it serves to change the subject from quantity to quality: the virtue relevant to land is specified in the next word,

παμφορωτέρην, the comparative of an adjective literally meaning '*bearing all* (i.e. *fruits*)': we should recall the δένδρεα παντοῖα of 5.3.[2] STEIN does full justice to all components by glossing 'of a greater variety of products' ('von größerer Mannigfaltigkeit der Erzeugnisse').

δέ, the reading of C, is rightly preferred to the τε of the other MSS. by HUDE. What we have is not so much a new item as a positive specification of the value concerned, more or less in parenthesis: it is the *produce* of the land which is not disappointing. '. . . renown and a land no smaller and no less valuable—(it is) more fertile (actually)—and at the same time . . .'. By contrast ἀλλά would present the fertility as the positive equivalent of the preceding negative or negatives, cf. α 1 above with note s.v.; and cf. β 3 below with note s.v. δέ.[3]

κῦδος . . . χώρην . . . τιμωρίην: Xerxes here lists the arguments of Mardonius (5.2–3) in the order 2–3–1, but having already taken κῦδος for his theme and now proceeding to expand on the other two, he will first deal with that which he announced last, thus establishing that chiastic pattern which is the rule rather than the exception, cf. above, α 1 with note s.v. κατηγήσομαι . . . χρήσομαι,[4] below, β 3 with note s.v. ἡμέας;[5] also γ 1 with note s.v. ἀγαθά.[6]

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[1] Note that the participle (as well as γινομένην) is governed by εὑρίσκω. In other words, this is a stronger way of saying what is put by KG I 138 a) thus: 'Hier sieht der Redende die zukünftige Ereignisse gleichsam als Augenzeuge sich vor seinen Blicken abspielen.'

[2] 7.5.3 . . . ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς [εἴη] χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη . . .

[3] Pp. 16 & 32–3 respectively.

[4] P. 14.

[5] P. 33.

[6] P. 36.

τιμωρίην '*defence of worth* or *value*', in particular '*revenge*'; cf. οὗτος μέν οἱ [ὁ] λόγος ἦν τιμωρός ('*guarding worth* or *value*') in 5.3 with note s.v. τιμωρός.[1]

τε καί '*as well as*', a split, or rather compound coordinator conveying that the τιμωρίη and τίσις amount to one process.[2]

τίσιν '*requital*': τίνειν is what the Greeks have to do, τιμωρέειν what the Persians are to do; Xerxes mentions first what is nearest.[3]

διό '*which is why*': the only other instance in H. of this coalescence of a preposition and a neuter relative pronoun 'for which (reason)' fossilized into a conjunction, indeed approximating an adverb 'therefore', is very near by in H.' own narrative preceding the present speech, at the beginning of 6.4.

νῦν ἐγὼ **συνέλεξα** '*I have now gathered*': on the combination of νῦν with the aorist indicative in direct speech cf. RIJKSBARON 1994, p. 28.

ἐγώ '*I*': the use of the first person pronoun is optional, therefore significant; in this case expressive of the pride and self-assurance H. attributes to Xerxes.

νοέω πρήσσειν '*I have in mind, am minded to do*'; from 'have in mind' to 'am minded' or (POWELL s.v. 3.) 'intend' is a short step, indicated as a final interpretation by the context, in particular by πρήσσειν 'to do, act, accomplish'. In his own introduction (8.1) H. had used θέλει 'he wished'. At 3.134.4 Darius tells Atossa 'You have said all that I myself ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν'.

ὑπερθέωμαι, literally equivalent to 'put over', is in H. limited to '*bring across, convey, communicate*'; the middle voice, which is commoner than the active, applies when the subject is not just conveying the words of another (as in 5.32), but has a personal stake in communicating them, e.g. to invite comment or ask advice (from interpreters of dreams in 1.107.1 & 108.2, 5.56.2).

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[1] P. 8.

[2] Also 8 α 1 & β 1 & γ 1, 9.2 (where see note s.v. Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους p. 54), α 1, 11.1, 12.1, 16 α 2, 18.2.

[3] On τιμωρίη and τίσις in H. cf. GIRAUDEAU 1984, pp. 79–86.

8 β 1

'μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.'

1 ἐλαύνειν D.H. 2 πεποιήκεσαν C

'I am going to bridge the Hellespont and drive an army through Europe against Hellas, that I may have my revenge on the Athenians for all that they have done to the Persians and to my father.'

μέλλω *'I am going to'*: it is hard to determine the precise contribution of the auxiliary, here optional, the more so when it (1) is followed, as here and most often, by a *future* infinitive, and (2) is not motivated and indeed required by a difference in perspective between subject and speaker, as it is in Ξέρξης . . . ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι in 8.1. If anything the verb helps to focus on present intent, or more generally on implications for the present hour, rather than on future action or actuality: 'I'll tell you what I'm going to do: I'm going to bridge the Hellespont and. . . .'[1]—For the future infinitive cf. 8.1 above and σοὶ . . . μέλλει τίς . . . ἀντιώσεσθαι . . .; (Mardonius) in 9 γ, as opposed to the present infinitive σὺ . . . μέλλεις . . . στρατεύεσθαι (Artabanus) in 10 α 3 below with note s.v. μέλλεις,[2] and ἐκκαίειν . . . μέλλειν in 18.1 below.

ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον *'having bridged the Hellespont'*, just as he had been told by Onomacritus that the Hellespont must (χρεὸν εἴη) be bridged (ζευχθῆναι) by a Persian (6.4). Attempts to bridge rivers had been staged on a more modest scale by Xerxes' predecessors: for

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[1] See, however, Ruijgh 1985a, p. 330 = 603, for the difference between the simple future tense and the periphrastic construction of μέλλειν with future infinitive. According to him the former 'est de loin le plus fréquent et constitue le terme neutre de l'opposition' and is used to refer to the 'absolute' future in a neutral way, whereas the latter 'est nettement marqué' in the sense that it '*souligne* que l'action envisagée est future *par rapport au moment présent* (futur relatif). Pratiquement, la phrase μέλλει γράψειν "*maintenant* il écrira" s'emploie pour souligner que la réalisation future est envisageable à partir du moment présent (vision prospective), mais qu'elle ne l'était pas encore à partir d'un moment passé, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'agit d'une décision (etc.) qu'on vient de prendre.' In fact, he cites *h.l.* as an instance to illustrate this difference: 'le contexte signale qu'il s'agit d'une décision que Xerxès vient de prendre.'

[2] P. 83.

the Araxes by Cyrus at 1.205.2, for the Bosporus at 4.83.1 and the Danube at 4.89.1 by Darius. Cf. ζεύξας Βόσπορον in 10 γ 1 below with note s.v. ζεύξας . . . γεφυρώσας.[1]

ἐλᾶν στρατόν '*to drive an army*', less specific than στρατεύεσθαι, applied to Darius by Xerxes in β 2 below and by himself and by Atossa at 3.134.4 (ἐπὶ Σκύθας) & 5 (ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα) respectively, in that the verb may equally have the army as a whole for its subject; a more graphic, though not an uncommon expression.

διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης '*through Europe*': the implication is not so much that Greece lies beyond Europe and therefore does not belong to it, as that there is not more of Europe beyond Greece. As to where Europe begins the most likely point is perhaps across the Hellespont: cf. Darius' announcement of his bridging of the Bosporus in the words of 3.134.4 ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἠπείρου ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ἤπειρον.

ἐπί + acc. at once '*to*' and '*against*'.

τιμωρήσωμαι '*I may have my revenge on . . . for . . .*': with the active voice of the verb the revenged are in the accusative, with the middle voice the victims are. For the meaning cf. on 8 α 2 above s.v. τιμωρίην,[2] and for the middle cf. on 9.2 below s.v. τιμωρησόμεθα.[3]

ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας '*all that they have done to the Persians*' refers to the πολλὰ κακά they were claimed by Mardonius to have wrought (ἐργασαμένους) and done (ἐποίησαν; 5.2). Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 236 (of the Athenian army) ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά.[4] The effect is to remind the hearer or reader of Marathon, which Mardonius tactfully avoided mentioning, though Xerxes himself will be slightly more explicit in 8 β 3 below.—On the perfect cf. KEIL 1963, p. 27 n. 2 and RUIJGH 1991, pp. 209–11 = 668–70.[5]

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[1] P. 101.
[2] P. 25.
[3] P. 55.
[4] H.&W. on 5.2 point to similar 'imitations' at 8 γ 3, 16 α 1, 103.4, 8.68 γ & 109.3.
[5] RUIJGH 1991 p. 209 = 668 aptly calls this use of the perfect 'totalisant-itératif: le parfait exprime ici la totalité d'une série itérative qui s'étend jusqu'au moment donné,' the suggestion being that the Athenians will go on doing κακά to the Persians if they are not punished now.

δή does not just echo the use of the particle by Mardonius in 5.2:[1] it conveys that the reference is to deeds which have been mentioned; the information is recalled, not new. At 5.2 it insinuates that the events referred to are familiar to the audience. In general the particle basically intimates that the fact stated or the qualification made is equally accessible and obvious to both partners in a conversation, and thereby suggests that this point does not require further discussion; cf. VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993, p. 141. The affinity of the particle with words denoting quantity, to which it can add little other than emphasis, has often been noted, e.g. DENNISTON pp. 205–6 under (iii) & (iv).[2]

καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν '*and to my father*' adds to Mardonius' reason of state what is less the private grievance of a son than the offence taken at an instance of *laesa maiestas* committed against the speaker's own throne.

[1] 5.2: Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν.

[2] The post-initial position of δή in ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας (5.2) and in ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά (Aesch. *Pers.* 236) indicates the 'fixed' nature of expressions such as πολλὰ δή (C.J. Ruijgh).

8 β 2

'ὡρᾶτε μέν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἵ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες.'

1 ὁρᾶτε C D.H. | μέν νυν] μὲν δὴ D.H. | Δαρεῖον **d** D.H.: πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρεῖον **a**P | ἰθύοντα] προθυμούμενον D.H. 2 οἱ S: αὐτῷ rell. D.H. 3–4 πρὶν ἂν ἢ **d** 4–5 ὑπῆρξαν post ἐμὲ (ἐμέ τε D.H.) **d**

'Now you saw Darius too heading for a military expedition against those men. He, however, is deceased, and it was not granted to him to have his revenge. But I shall, on behalf both of him and of the other Persians, no sooner stop before I have taken and made a fire of Athens, of those men that is who took the initiative in doing wrong to me and my father.'

ὡρᾶτε '*you saw*': the aorist εἴδετε (as in 3.80.2),[1] which could equally well have been followed by the present participle ἰθύοντα, would have marked the information as complete: 'That *p*, that is something *you have seen*' (as opposed, e.g., to things you only know by hearsay). The present stem diverts attention to what it was that you saw and intimates that this is not all there is to be said; it invites questions as to the sequel: 'You all know *about p*; (but there is more to come)'; cf. SICKING 1991, pp. 37–9 & 1996, p. 78.[2]—Cf. ὁρᾷς in 10 ε below with note s.v.[3]

μέν νυν '*Now*', balanced by (ἐγὼ) δέ, may be said to prepare for the contrast between καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα and ἐγώ . . . οὐ . . . παύσομαι, with νυν setting this complex apart from what precedes and μέν looking forward. But matters are complicated by the intervention of a sentence (ἀλλ' . . . τιμωρήσασθαι) which is contrasted *both* with Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα through ἀλλά and with ἐγὼ δέ κτλ. through μέν. Also δ 2 and 10 ζ below, and cf. on α 1 s.v. above.[4]

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[1] Cf. STEINGER 1957, pp. 99–101.
[2] Alternatively, it might simply mean 'you were (all the time) witness how . . .' (C.J. Ruijgh).
[3] Pp. 114–15.
[4] P. 17.

ἰθύοντα '*heading for*', of a movement along a straight line to the object, is used in H. both of physical movement, as in the *Iliad*, e.g. 4.122.2 (πρός + acc.) & 134.3 (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον ἰθῦσαι, cf. M 443 ἴθυσαν δ' ἐπὶ τεῖχος), and of motions of the will, as in the Odyssean use in which it is followed by an infinitive, as στρατεύεσθαι here (the prepositional phrase ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους complements the infinitive στρατεύεσθαι). In the terms of H.' own narrative at 1.1 Darius ὅρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and in 2.1 he was already στελλομένου . . . ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι '*it was not granted to him to have his revenge*' were H.' own words on Darius in his narrative in 4.[1]

ὑπέρ '*on behalf of*', with reference to vengeance elsewhere in H. accompanying τείσασθαι 'make . . . pay', i.e. 'exact requital' (1.27.4 & 73.1, 2.115.4, 4.139.3); for the association between τιμωρίην and τίσιν cf. 8 α 2 above with note s.v. τίσιν.[2]

οὐ πρότερον . . . πρὶν ἤ roughly '*no sooner . . . before*', looks like a contamination of πρίν 'before' with πρότερον ἤ 'earlier than', adding amplitude to Xerxes' vow. Contrast πρὶν ἤ 10 η 2 below.[3]

πυρώσω '*make a fire of*', a rare (repeated only at 8.102.3) and graphic word for what is a bad thing in the eyes of the inhabitants of a dry mainland, and a particularly abominable lot for man to undergo in Persian eyes: cf. 3.16.2, where Cambyses irreligiously (οὐκ ὅσια) inflicts it on the dead body of Amasis. Commoner words are καίω and κατακαίω, used in 3.16.2, and compounds of πίμπρημι such as ἐνέπρησαν used by Xerxes in β 3 and in 11.2 below of the Athenian outrage which he now proposes to revenge.

οἵ '*who*', masculine, as though the antecedent were not Athens (feminine) but the Athenians: a *constructio ad sententiam*. The slight shift is perhaps facilitated by

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[1] 7.4 . . . οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

[2] P. 25.

[3] On the absence or presence of ἄν in the case of οὐ πρότερον/πρὶν ἤ-clauses in H. cf. Sturm 1882, pp. 296–9.

γε which assists in defining, and confining, the extension of an utterance: 'Athens, I mean those men of whom it can be said that they ...'. Cf. on 11.4 below s.v. ἄνδρας τούτους τούς γε καί.[1]

ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν '*me and my father*': the Greeks were not brought up to change the more natural order of 'I and you' into the more polite one of 'you and I'. Here, however, the prominent position of 'me' derives significance from the fact that Xerxes was of little account personally at the time when the Athenians began their mischief.

ὑπῆρξαν '*took the initiative*', in this use always in H. of evil doings, which may be specified by a participle as here, or in the genitive, as in 9.2 below. Cf. ὑπαργμένοισι in 11.2 below with note s.v.[2]—It is an ancient Greek presupposition, indeed a wide-spread pre- or non-Christian one, that unprovoked injuries do not merely justify the injured party in striving for retribution, but actually impose an obligation to exact this.

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[1] Pp. 170–1. Besides these two instances POWELL s.v. γε 4. 'causally' b. 'w. relative' lists only one instance: 1.71.3 τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; Cf. DENNISTON, pp. 141–2.

[2] P. 162.

8 β 3

'πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ, [ἀπικόμενοι] ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεον, [τὰ] ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες.'

1 ἅμα] παρὰ D.H. MBP 2 ἀπικόμενοι om. D.H. 3 ἔρξαν] ἔδρασαν D.H. | τὴν] τὴν γῆν τὴν D.H. | ἀποβάντες D 4 Ἀρταφέρνης AB D.H. | τὰ om. D.H.

'First, they came to Sardes together with Aristagoras, of Miletus—and him a slave of ours—and set fire to the groves and the temples; secondly, the things they did to us after we landed on their territory, when Datis and Artaphrenes led our army, this, I dare say, all of you know.'

(πρῶτα) μέν . . . (δεύτερα) δέ: a prototypical use—worth noting only for the contrast with μέν νυν . . . δέ (α 1 & β 2 with notes s.v. above & δ 2 below)[1] and μέντοι . . . δέ (γ 1 below with note s.v.)[2] which it offers—of this sequence which marks two members as being of equal weight, as is here confirmed by lexical means in πρῶτα . . . δεύτερα.

ἅμα '*together with*' is not literally true, since Aristagoras remained in Miletus (5.99.2), but may perhaps be allowed as an effective representation of his moral leadership. By contrast in γ 2 below ἅμα ὑμῖν presumably signifies Xerxes' intention to command his troops in his own person.

δούλῳ '*slave*', from the Persian point of view which H. here adopts, is correctly applied to anyone who is not a δεσπότης. Cf. (Xerxes) δούλιον ζυγόν in γ 3 below.

δέ is used as in α 2 above, where see note s.v.,[3] to mark not a clause but a phrase as forming to some extent a new beginning; although the construction is not broken off, the constituent is given greater independence than a mere apposition would have: '. . . with Aristagoras

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[1] Pp. 17 & 29 and 48 respectively.
[2] P. 35.
[3] P. 24.

of Miletus—mind you, (he is just) a slave of ours— . . .', '. . . and him a slave . . .'.[1]

ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά '*they set fire to the groves and the temples*':[2] the false rhetoric of war, diagnosed by H. in 5.102.1: Sardis was burnt down, including a temple of Kybele, which the Persians seized upon as an excuse (σκηπτόμενοι) for burning Greek temples when their time came. But long before Sardis an oracle of Zeus and a temple of Hephaestus had been set fire to by Cambyses' order (3.25.3 & 37.3 respectively). The measure is not unknown among co-religionists either: within the Greek world a sacred grove falls prey to arson at the hands of Cleomenes in Argos (6.75.3).

ἡμέας '*us*' is placed 'proleptically' as it is called, since it introduces the *topic* that the second half of the period will be devoted to.[3] It thus establishes a chiastic movement, balancing nearby τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά before οἷα ἔρξαν comes to balance ἐνέπρησαν, and ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, from a distance, ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες; cf. α 2 above with note s.v. κῦδος . . . χώρην . . . τιμωρίην.[4]

ἔρξαν '*have done (to)*', present tense ἔρδω, is a word not found in older prose outside H.

ἀποβάντας '*having landed*', more literally '— *stepped off*', often from a vessel on land, and in particular of armies.

ὅτε 'when': on ὅτε cf. RIJKSBARON 1976, p. 133.

[τά] '*this*', more precisely '*these* (things)', or '*which*' (relative). The omission of the pronoun by D.H. yields a *lectio facilior* which is poorly attested and suspect in its own right. If we keep the pronoun, we either have (1) the same syntax, with οἷα depending on ἐπίστασθε, but now with an anaphoric pronoun inserted which seems quite appropriate to direct speech and to H., '. . . what things they did to

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[1] For this type of expression cf. 1.7.1 ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε . . . ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας and see RUIJGH 1971, pp. 162–3.

[2] Also Σάρδις ἐνέπρησαν in 11.2 (Xerxes) below.

[3] In terms of Functional Grammar the left-dislocated ἡμέας would be the Theme which 'presents a domain or universe of discourse with respect to which it is relevant to pronounce the following Predication' (DIK 1978, p. 130). For the distinction between Theme and Topic within Functional Grammar see *ibidem* (C.J. Ruijgh).

[4] P. 24.

us after we had landed on their territory, when . . ., this you all know'; or we get (2) exclamatory οἷα: '. . . and secondly, the things they did to us after we had landed on their territory!, when . . .,— which (or: these) you all know'.[1]

κου '*I dare say*' is an expression modest in its pretensions but positive in its effect; cf. SICKING 1993, pp. 57–61. Cf. κου in 10 θ 3 and 12.1 below with notes s.v.[2]

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[1] E.g. SCHWEIGHÄUSER: *deinde vero, qualia sunt, quibus nos acceperunt, quum Dati et Artapherne ducibus terram illorum sumus ingressi! quae satis nostis omnes.* The second interpretation taking τὰ as a relative (thus POWELL s.v. ὅς B.I.1.) is more likely, since the use of τά as an anaphoric demonstrative does not occur in H. apart from the fixed collocations τὰ μέν and τὰ δέ; cf. POWELL s.v. ὁ B.II.1 (μέν), 2 (δέ) & 3 (other particles) (C.J. Ruijgh).

[2] Pp. 147–8 & 179 respectively.

8 γ 1

'τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσαν.'

1 μέντοι] μὲν δὴ Bekker | ἀνάρτημαι] ἀνώρμημαι D.H. | αὐτέους AB 4 ⟨τὴν⟩ χώρην Krüger | γῆν τε D.H. | ὁμορέουσαν AB[1]**d**: ὅμορον οὖσαν D.H.

'For these reasons, then, I have committed myself to undertake an expedition against these people, and, in making up the account, I come up finding as large benefits in these very things as the following: if we shall conquer both these and their neighbours, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall render the Persian land coterminous with Zeus' ether.'

τούτων . . . **εἵνεκα** 'touching, with regard to, because of these things': the original spatial connotation (implied by the etymological connection alleged by CHANTRAINE s.v. ἕνεκα with the stem ἐνεκ- 'porter jusque, atteindre' found in ἐνεγκεῖν) is reactivated by the metaphor of ἀνάρτημαι; but see 15.1 below with note s.v. εἵνεκα.[1]

μέντοι '. . ., *then*, . . .': balanced by δέ, the particle has a surplus value (1) over mere μέν (e.g. in β 3) in that—like μέν νυν in α 1 and β 2 above, where see notes[2]—it does not point forwards only, but calls attention to the statement at hand; and (2) over μέν νυν itself in the greater assertive force and the appeal to the hearer (τοι) it conveys. This makes it equally apt to figure in a concluding summary, as it does here,[3] as in the 'adversative' and 'progressive' contexts to which the present instance is wrongly assigned by POWELL (s.v. I 2.) and by DENNISTON p. 407 respectively. What there is of contrast or of progression is not in this colon but in the following one, marked by δέ. This does away with the need for BEKKER's μὲν δή.—Cf. SICKING 1993, pp. 33–5.

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[1] P. 205.
[2] Pp. 17 & 29 respectively.
[3] Cf. BECK 1971, p. 73, who includes this instance in the 'Ringe (i.e. β 1–γ 1) . . . in denen . . . Entschlüsse aus evidenten Erfahrungstatsachen eine unmittelbare Begründung finden' (p. 72).

ἀνάρτημαι '*I am out to, have committed myself to*': the two other instances in H. are 1.90.1, where Cyrus acknowledges that Croesus is ἀναρτημένου . . . χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, and 6.88, where the Athenians are ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, but it is worth referring to the simple verb ἀρτέομαι both as it is used in present stem forms, e.g. 5.120 αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο, and in the perfect, where it is generally taken to mean 'depend on'. It seems likely that for the perfect tense at least of the simple verb we have to reckon with what CHANTRAINE s.v. ἀραρίσκω, p. 102[a], calls 'conflit homonymique avec la famille de ἀρτάω'; and if this is granted then it is legitimate to speculate that the underlying notion common to the present and perfect uses of the simple verb and to the compound is that one 'hangs' oneself, and is thereby committed, more or less in the way that we 'bind' ourselves, and thereby are or consider ourselves 'bound', to some course of action.

στρατεύεσθαι 'undertake a (military) expedition': the great predominance of present stem forms in all moods except the participle suggests that primarily because of the lexical meaning of this verb the use of the present is 'normal'; for the 'dynamic' infinitive in particular (55 present as against 2 aorist infinitives) cf. STORK 1982, p. 118 & 517; but cf. also SICKING 1996, pp. 106–18.

ἀγαθά '*good things, benefits*', the 'bonus', positive advantages thrown into the bargain after we have occupied ourselves with redressing ἄδικα throughout 8 β. The third, or rather the prime motive of ambition was covered in 8 α 2, which included an anticipation of Xerxes' present concern with material gain in the mention of χώρην to be usurped: the glory won is directly proportionate to the territory conquered.

αὐτοῖσι '*these very (things)*': not 'instead of' (*statt* STEIN on 1.9.1) the demonstrative pronoun, if this should imply that αὐτοῖσι is synonymous but irregular.[1] The benefits envisaged will not be accidentally effected *among these* (*ἐν τούτοισι) actions proposed: they are contained *in* the *same* as a necessary corollary. Cf. αὐτοῖσι in 10 α 3 below with note s.v.[2]

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[1] STEIN '"dabei", in der Unternehmung', referring to his note on 1.9.1 ἐξ αὐτῶν 'statt ἐκ τούτου oder τούτων', where *statt* probably is meant merely to suggest a difference as in Dutch 'erin' *versus* 'daarin' (C.J. Ruijgh).

[2] P. 83.

ἀγαθὰ . . . τοσάδε '*as large benefits . . . as the following*': the ἀγαθά here involved, unlike the χρηστά of 8.60 β (πρῶτα μέν . . . αὖτις δέ &c.), could well be presented as one single great ἀγαθόν; but (1) this great good comprises a number of pluralities (τούτους τε καὶ τούς . . ., § 2 σφεας πάσας, § 3 τούτων), (2) ἀγαθά in its idiomatic use of material possessions approaches the status of a *plurale tantum*, (3) a plural expression serves the purpose of amplification, and (4) to the Persians strength is in numbers: τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι 1.136.1 (where the subject was children). Cf. ἀγαθά in 10 ζ below (Artabanus).

ἀνευρίσκω '*I find, come up (with the) finding*': the compound (1) in the present tense, (2) in the first person, and (3) accompanied by a participle, just like the simple verb εὑρίσκω in α 2 above, where see note.[1] What the preverb (18 instances of the compound in H.) adds to the simple verb (111 x) seems to be the presupposition of a more or less laborious search previous to the finding:[2] for a removable stone hiding a clandestine entrance (2.121 α 3), the burying-place of Orestes (ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης . . . ἀνεῦρε 1.67.5, where ἐξευρέσιος seems to anticipate the moment of revelation), ancestral graves (4.127.3), tunnels (4.200.2), mines (6.47.1), and ore (1.68.4); or of abstract findings, after a screening (1.137.2, *v.l.* ἂν εὑρεθῆναι) or questioning (2.151.3). This would account for the observation that the negation in H. (4 x) is never plain '*did* not find', but always 'was un*able* to find' (οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο 1.67.3 & ἦσαν 2.140.2, ἐδύνατο 2.2.2, δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι 2.54.2), implying 'in spite of an effort'.—As with the simple verb εὑρίσκω, for which see note on α 2 above s.v.,[3] the frequency of the present tense suggests that the type of action (in a wide sense) connoted by the verb, may extend to the state of awareness consequent upon the finding; this is compatible with the sequence of imperfect and aorist in 2.151.3 ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν (Psammetichus) ποιήσαντα, . . . ἔδοξέ σφι κτλ. Cp. Klose 1968, p. 211.

λογιζόμενος '*counting, reckoning*', in combination with (ἀν)ευρίσκω always in H. in the strict sense rather than as 'considering': 1.137.1, 2.7.2, 7.28.2 & 194.2. This presupposes a plural object, cf. above s.v. (ἀγαθά . . .) τοσάδε.

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[1] Pp. 22–3.
[2] Cf. 'dig *up*' or Dutch '*op*graven' (C.J. Ruijgh).
[3] Pp. 22–3.

τούτους '*these*', the Athenians, singled out as formidable adversaries by Darius in 5.105, and considered from β 1 above onwards as aggressors deserving to be punished, are now mentioned together with the Peloponnesians as those opponents in the subjection of Greece as a whole whom it is crucial to subject.

Φρυγός '*Phrygian*': Xerxes will explain the relevance of Pelops' extraction in 11.4 below.

ἀποδέξομεν '*we shall show*, i.e. *render*': also in 3.130.3 ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἐόντα ἀπέδεξε, summarized in 134.1 ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε. Both in that context and here the verb is applied to actions which an agent will not mind being known to have accomplished. Cf. on 17.1 below s.v. ἀποδέξειν.[1]

ὁμουρέουσαν '*bordering on*' or more precisely '*having the same border(s) as, coterminous with*': no mere terrestrial quantity, as in all other instances of the verb in H., but the very sky, i.e. a dome of ether over the earth, is the limit—for us, but the relation is reciprocal: as Xerxes with characteristic presumption implies, sovereignty of the King of the Persians at the same time will set limits to the jurisdiction of the President of the Immortals.

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[1] P. 262.

8 γ 2

'οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὁμουρέουσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλά σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.'

1 οὐ γὰρ δὴ] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλην **a** | γε] τε D.H. MBP | ὁ ἥλιος D.H. | ὅμουρον (ὅμορον S) ἐοῦσαν **d**P: ὅμορον οὖσαν D.H. 2 ἁπάσας D.H. | ἐξελθὼν D.H.

'*For as to land, there is none which the sun shall look down on as being coterminous with this of ours; no, all of them I, together with you, shall make into one land, coming out right through all of Europe on the other side.*'

οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν '*for as to land, there is none which*...': by this sentence Xerxes explains (γάρ) his bold statement about Zeus' ether by pointing to the evidence (δή) of what physical space (χώρην) allows and limiting (γε) his claim to this and no further. The reading οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλην χώρην of **a** contrives to miss most of this, substituting a feeble and redundant (οὐδὲ) ἄλλην '(no) other' for the peremptory (οὐδε)μίαν '(not) one', and with οὐ*δὲ* obscuring rather than illuminating the relation to what precedes.

κατόψεται '*shall look down on*': where this literal sense does not apply, as it does here and in 7.44 (ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ), the verb is often used of looking so as to notice that, or ascertain whether, something is there or is the case: e.g. in 2.38.2 κατορᾷ... τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας, 6.79.2, with the simple verb in the context, οὐκ ὥρων... ὅ τι ἔπρησσον, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιεύμενον; the middle voice 4.179.2 πλέοντα... κατιδέσθαι γῆν. This nuance may well be operative here, with ὁμουρέουσαν approximating to a predicate: 'there is no land of which the sun will *make out that* it borders on ours'; the sun from its vantage-point shall be our witness, so to speak, that there is no territory left which is not ours.

σφεας '*them*': for the application to impersonal objects which, however, connote persons, Stein compares, *inter alia*, 108.2 (towns) & 194.3 *bis* & 195 (ships) below.

ἅμα '*together with*', while it is interchangeable in the majority of contexts with σύν as found in σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένεϊ 10 **β** 1 below, requires physical co-presence, or by extension inner connection, as σύν does not: cf. σὺν θεῷ 1.86.3, 3.153.2. In one context, with σύν

for personal subjects and ἅμα for an impersonal object, 5.58.1 οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι . . . χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. Cf. notes on 8 β 3 above s.v. and on 9 β 1 below s.v. σὺν κακῷ.[1]

διὰ . . . διεξελθών, properly 'going right *through* and *coming out* on the other side of': the preposition, duplicating the first preverb, indicates a literal interpretation.

[1] Pp. 32 & 64–5 respectively.

8 γ 3

'πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων. οὕτω οἵ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἕξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἵ τε ἀναίτιοι.'

1 ἀνδρῶν] αὐτῶν D.H. 2 ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν D.H. | ὑπολίπεσθαι RSV: ὑπολιπέσθαι D | τὸ ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν ὃ D.H. | ἡμῖν D.H. M^1: ὑμῖν D.H. M^{2}BP 3 αἴτιοι] ἀντίοι D.H. MBP 4 ἀναίτιοι] Ἀθηναῖοι D.H. MBP

'For I hear it is thus, that neither anything in the way of a city of men, nor any nation of people, is left that will be able to meet us in battle, when those whom I have listed have been removed from our way. Thus both those who are answerable to us and those who are not will bear the yoke of slavery.'

γάρ '*for*' this time (cf. on γ 2 above s.v. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν)[1] marks the *justification* rather than a *paraphrase* (as in γ 2) of Xerxes' bold claim (made in γ 1) by supplying the not inconsiderable missing link between subduing the Athenians and Peloponnesians on the one hand (γ 1), and carrying all (Europe) before him on the other hand (γ 2).

οὔτε τινά . . . ὑπεξαραιρημένων '*no . . . (when) . . . have been removed*': the idea that the remaining inhabitants of Europe are a negligible quantity is flattering to Greek ears, but it may carry a suggestion of *hybris* as well.

οὔτε τινά '*neither anything in the way of a, like a*': the indefinite pronoun extends the categoric denial from what is properly called a πόλις to whatever may be regarded as a πόλις rather than as an ἔθνος. H. uses Xerxes to convey his own awareness that πόλεις are a Greek rather than a Persian reality; indeed the very order in which the two appear betrays a Greek perspective.

οἷόν τε ἔσται '*will be able*': on οἷός τέ εἰμι (as opposed to δύναμαι) cp. Neuberger-Donath 1982a, p. 365.

ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων '*of men . . . of people*': neither adjunct is indispensable, the second more obviously redundant than the first, but once the first noun is expanded to a noun phrase for what may be

[1] P. 39.

called 'rhetorical' motives, the second one has to follow, and the addition must be a different one. But note that the two are not interchangeable.

τῶν '*whom*': in modern languages the relative pronoun would take the case corresponding to its syntactic rôle in the relative clause, whereas in Greek it is not irregular—in fact quite regular in restrictive relative clauses[1]—for it to be assimilated or 'attracted' to the case of its antecedent.

κατέλεξα '*I have listed*': the term is rather grand, for a κατάλογος made up of two items.—The aorist is used, since the action has been realized.

ὑπεξαραιρημένων very strictly '*taken*', '*out*', e.g. of the ground they were fixed in, '*upwards*', whether from the root or from before our feet: a literal interpretation of this graphic word, 'removed', possibly with the sinister overtones of 'put out of the way' (POWELL s.v. ὑπεξαραιρημένων), 'eliminated', seems much preferable to the metaphoric one 'excepted' (cf. LSJ 'these being out of the question', curiously placed under I.2 s.v. ὑπεξαιρέω), especially in view of the perfect tense which suggests something definitive, and of the complement ὑπολείπεσθαι which, though posterior to it in the order of things, precedes it in the sentence and thus helps to delimit the room for its interpretation.

αἴτιοι are those with whom a thing (genitive) has begun which has consequences for some other party (dative). With the dative but without a genitive A 153 (Achilles declaring that the Trojans are not αἴτιοι to him),[2] and in H. again in 8.100.5 (Mardonius telling Xerxes that the Persians are not αἴτιοι to their king).[3] These parallels prove that different aspects may prevail even when the same complements are given explicitly in the context: in the *Iliad* what Achilles denies is that *he* is the *victim* of the injury, in 8.100.5 what Mardonius denies is that the injury to Xerxes can be laid to the account of the *Persians* as having *caused* it. It so happens that in such contexts '*answerable*' will serve as a translation, but questions of liability, responsibility, let

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[1] Cf. e.g. SMYTH § 2524.

[2] A 152–3 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἕνεκ' ἤλυθον αἰχμητάων | δεῦρο μαχησόμενος, ἐπεὶ οὔ τί μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν.

[3] 8.100.5 ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοί εἰσι, ἐμοὶ πείθεο.

alone guilt are not crucial to the use of either αἴτιος or αἰτίη. In our passage too Xerxes merely means by οἱ ἡμῖν αἴτιοι men to whom an injury to him may be traced.[1]

δούλιον ζυγόν '*the yoke of slavery*', a phrase first found in Aeschylus' stichic verse, with reference to communities rather than individuals in his earlier plays, in anapaests (*Pers.* 50 'Ελλάδι) and iambics (*Th.* 471 πόλεως & 793 πόλις, *Ag.* 953 ἑκὼν οὐδεὶς χρῆται & 1226 φέρειν χρὴ τό), and recurring in Euripidean lyrics (*Andr.* 302, *Tro.* 600). Cf. δούλῳ ἡμετέρῳ applied to Aristagoras in β 3 above.

ἕξουσι '*they will bear, they will have to do with*': the choice of this verb rather than e.g. a more 'passive' φέρειν suggests that they will be forced into active cooperation, and that they will get what they have coming to them.

[1] On the use of τε... τε in 'sog. polaren Ausdrucksweise' cf. Brouwer 1975, p. 85.

8 δ 1

'ὑμεῖς δῷ ἄν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι· ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκῃ παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου.'

1 χαρίζεσθε D.H. MP²: χαρίζεσθαι D.H. BP¹ | ἐπειδὰν D.H. 2 ἥκειν δεῖ] ἡμῖν (Sylburg: ὑμῖν MBP) ἥκειν δοκεῖ D.H. | πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων] ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας D.H. | χρήσει] δεῖ D.H. 3 ἔχων ἥκῃ] ἔλθοι ἔχων D.H. | ἥκει RV: ἥκοι S | παρασκευασάμενον (παρασκευασάμενος S) **d**: κατεσκευασμένον D.H. | οἱ δώσω **d** 3–4 δῶρα—εἶναι] δωρεάν, ἢ δὴ τιμιωτάτη (Reiske: ἤδη τιμιωτάτην ἢ MBP) νομίζεται D.H.

'Now you can do what is pleasing to me by the following actions: when I signify to you the point in time against which it is required of you to have come, it will be necessary for every single one of you to be there fully willingly; and he that has come having his army the finest prepared, I shall give him as presents those which are held in highest esteem in what belongs to our patrimony.'

ὑμεῖς δ' ἄν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε 'Now *you* can do what is pleasing to me *by acting as follows*': while it is true that a second person potential optative may be used as a 'mildere (mitunter auch schärfere) Form der Bitte und Aufforderung' (KG I 233–4), the point of using the verb χαρίζεσθαι in this form seems to be that Xerxes *presupposes* his peers have no higher purpose in life than to please himself, and focuses, in the participle phrase, on how they may set about to realize this aspiration.[1] The prominent position of the second person pronoun, which is optional, marks a change of topic: '. . . Thus they will carry their yoke (as a result of what *I* intend to do). As for *your* part in this affair, . . .'.

σημήνω '*signify*', not as Powell classifies this instance under 'mention, tell' (s.v. 6.): they should be prepared for instant orders, for Xerxes to 'give the sign'.[2] Also σήμηνον (Artabanus to Xerxes) in 18.3 below.

ἐς '*at*, of a point of time relatively future' (Powell s.v. B 5) betrays the perspective from the moment of speaking. An act or state of

[1] On ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε as an instance of the type where 'Die hinter beiden Verben stehende Handlung dieselbe ist' ('Identitätsfall') cf. Hettrich 1976, p. 78.

[2] On the 'pragmatic or contextual features' which 'almost necessitate' the use of ἐπεάν-clauses (instead of e.g. ἐάν-clauses) cf. Wakker 1994, pp. 181–2.

affairs is situated at the end of a passage in time, and moves *into* this end as though reaching its destination or consummation. English *against* is to some extent comparable: a relatively future occurrence is viewed 'against' the background of a time which is slightly farther away, except that here there is no question of movement.

δεῖ 'it is *required* of (one, you)': see below s.v. χρήσει, and 17.2 below with note s.v. (Ξέρξην) δεῖ (παθεῖν).[1]

προθύμως '*fully willingly*', as if one were there of one's own accord rather than obeying orders. Cf. προθυμίην in 10 η 1 below (this time Artabanus about Mardonius' evil influence on Xerxes) with note s.v.[2]

πάντα τινά '*every* (single) *one*'. With πάντας ὑμᾶς they would be considered as one body of men (cf. the reading of D.H.), but what is relevant here is that they are individually responsible to their sovereign, and as soon as we choose the singular πάντα ὑμέων the τινά becomes obligatory, perhaps to bring out that πάντα *is* masculine singular, rather than neuter plural.

χρήσει '*it will be necessary for*': more imperious than e.g. παρέστω, and the infinitive is more easily supplemented with a modal adjunct such as προθύμως than the imperative would be. The use of the future tense is not compulsory,[3] but it is perhaps the more natural choice in a context dealing with a specified time in the future, and it prepares for the remaining announcement about rewards, which could not well have been made in any other tense. By contrast δεῖ forms part of a communication which now belongs to the future, but when it is made will be given in the present tense: 'When I signify that you have to come, you *will* have to be there without fail'.[4]—Cf. χρή in 11.2 below with note s.v.[5]

παρεῖναι '*to be there*': POWELL's distinction between (1) 'be present' (s.v. 1) and (2) 'arrive, come' (s.v. 2) is spurious, illuminating English rather than Greek usage: in 1.10.1 μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ

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[1] Pp. 269–70.
[2] Pp. 131–2.
[3] χρήσει is a *hapax legomenon* in H. D.H. reads δεῖ. The Attic form would be χρῆσται.
[4] I.e., the command at some point of time in the future would be something like '*δεῖ* ἥκειν ἐς τὸν καὶ τὸν χρόνον.'
[5] Pp. 161–2.

γυνή *means* 'immediately afterwards the woman too was there', it just happens that Greek idiom has the speaker focus on the presence where we tend to envisage the arrival: '— —the woman too made her appearance'.

ὃς ἂν . . . ἥκῃ '*he that has come*': the relative with implicit (though see on οἱ below) antecedent governing a prospective subjunctive clause is a combination sufficiently fixed for ἄν to remove δέ from the second position; the set which the subject or subjects form part of, elsewhere explicitly mentioned in a partitive genitive (1.138.1 ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν . . . ἔχῃ, 3.72.5 ὃς ἂν μέν νυν τῶν πυλουρῶν . . . παρίῃ) is here left to be supplied from ὑμέων in the preceding sentence.

ἥκῃ '*has come*': it is instructive to compare παρεῖναι above with note. With ἥκειν too the Greek speaker envisages the situation after the arrival, but he now explicitly characterizes this situation as consequent upon the arriving; he *connotes* the arrival by lexical means.

κάλλιστα '*best, the finest*': the plural indicates that the word must be taken adverbially, not as an attribute or a predicate with στρατόν as the singular might have been construed (that it should not be taken with δῶρα is ensured by the intervention of a second finite verb and pronoun δώσω οἱ). Cf. note on καλόν in 11.4 below.[1]

οἱ '*him*': if we had the demonstrative pronoun τούτῳ 'that (man)', this would naturally be taken as a postposed antecedent for the preceding relative clause to depend on; as it is, the less emphatic οἱ is more plausibly regarded as an anaphoric pronoun serving to clarify the relationship of the relative clause to the main clause, integrating it into the period—as a dative adjunct, it turns out. But in living speech, as opposed to parsing, no hard and fast dividing lines are to be found between such categories.[2]

δῶρα τά: only a translator has to *choose* between '(*of*) *presents, those which*' (cf. δένδρεα παντοῖα . . . τὰ ἥμερα in 5.3 above)[3] and '*as pre-*

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[1] P. 169.

[2] The word order οἱ δώσω of **d** makes little difference to this syntactical relation, but it seems rhetorically less effective. As C.J. Ruijgh points out, this word order implies that κάλλιστα is the first word of the main clause and κάλλιστα is therefore mistakenly taken to be an adjective qualifying δῶρα.

[3] Where the article after a noun and one adjective but before a second adjective introduces a specification: 'trees of all kinds, of the cultivated class.'

sents, those things *which*'; cf. 3.160.2 δῶρα ... ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσί ἐστι τιμιώτατα. Xen. *An.* 1.2.27 specifies the 'presents held in esteem' (δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται ... τίμια) at the great king's court in his time, several of which can be parallelled from H.: a golden necklace (στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν) and bracelets or anklets (ψέλια) such as Cambyses despatches to the Ethiopians (χρύσεον στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ ψέλια 3.20.1), the Persian outfit (στολὴν Περσικὴν) which invites comparison with the purple dress (πορφύρεον εἷμα) mentioned in the same context of 3.20.1 as well as with the Medic clothes (ἐσθῆτα Μηδικὴν) promised to Otanes and his descendants (3.84.1), and a golden small-sword (ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν) such as Xerxes bestows on the citizens of Abdera (ἀκινάκῃ χρυσέῳ 8.120).—The aftermath, or rather lack of one, of the promise here made is given in 26.2 below.

ἐν ἡμετέρου '*in our*', sc. '*—house*' or '*—country*'. The derivation by an ellipse from ἐν ἡμετέρου γένεος οἴκῳ assumed by VAN GRONINGEN is far-fetched; more probably we have a contamination of (1) ἐν followed by a genitive personal pronoun (e.g. ἐν ἡμῶν) analogous with εἰς + genitive of a proper name (e.g. εἰς Ἀίδαο, ἐς Πριάμοιο) with (2) ἐν followed by the more regular dative of the possessive pronoun, whether in the form ἐν ἡμετέρῳ (e.g. οἴκῳ) or in that of ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ (e.g. γῇ) found in 9 α 1 below. A similar contamination involving the preposition εἰς has given rise to the phrases εἰς ἡμετέρου at β 55[1] and ἐς ἡμετέρου in the Homeric *Hymn* to Hermes, 370.[2]—The present form, the sense of which is 'in what is of, belongs to ours', i.e. 'to our patrimony', preserves an ambiguity in reference between Xerxes' own house and his country which is apposite: to the king of Persia there is little difference between the two, a fact which H. makes this particular king appear to be especially conscious of.

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[1] Preferred to εἰς ἡμέτερον by Aristarchus at η 301 and ρ 534 as well.

[2] Cf. 1.35.4 ἐν ἡμετέρου; besides these two instances POWELL s.v. ἐν A II 1 cites 1.36.1 (ἐν Κροίσου), 92.1 (ἐν Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι), 111.4 (ἐν Ἁρπάγου), 133.4 (ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται). For ἐς with genitive see POWELL s.v. ἐς A VI (14 x).

8 δ 2

'ποιητέα μέν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλέειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.' ταῦτα εἴπας ἐπαύετο.

1 μέν νυν] μὲν δὴ D.H. | ἰδιοβουλεύειν aP D.H. 2 εἰς V | κελεύω R

'Now these things are to be done this way; but that I may not be deemed by you to do my own will, I put the matter in the middle and ask any one of you who wishes to declare his insight, to do so.' Having said that, he made an end.

ποιητέα *'(having) to be done'*: out of 23 verbal adjectives found in H.[1] no less than 10 are made from ποιέειν,[2] all of them neuter and all but one[3] occurring in the last three books. Three of these are singular, following the relative τό, whereas among the plural instances only 8.101.1 follows the relative τά, all the others being accompanied by a demonstrative.[4]

μέν νυν *'Now'*: see on 8 α 1 & β 2 above and 10 ζ below s.v.[5]

ἵνα δὲ μὴ . . . *'but that I may not . . .'*: for preposed purpose clauses cf. Dik 1995, p. 8 with note 13.

ἰδιοβουλέειν *'do (my) own will, insist on having (my) way'*, a form which has to be defended as the more regular one,[6] confirmed by its recurrence in Dio Cassius 43.27.1 (ἰδιοβουλῶν),[7] against ἰδιοβουλεύειν which likewise has considerable MS. support (including D.H.) but which may be explained as the result of an assimilation to the frequently occurring βουλεύειν and compounds.—A belated return to the tone of χαρίζοισθε ἄν, hardly calculated to counter the effect of

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[1] Listed by Stork p. 306.

[2] The only other verb of which more than one instance of the adjective occurs is περιορᾶν: 5.39.2 περιοπτέον, 7.168.1 περιοπτέη.

[3] 1.191.1 (singular).

[4] That at 15.2 below is both accompanied by a demonstrative and, not following but in its turn followed, by the relative τά.

[5] Pp. 17 & 29 and 121 respectively.

[6] Verbs in -έω being regularly derived from compounds, of the type δημηγορέω *versus* ἀγορεύω (C.J. Ruijgh); cf. Debrunner 1917, § 195.

[7] Also Dio Cassius 4.16.1 ἰδιοβουλεῖν, 55.34.1 ἰδιοβουλεῖν. Cf. Men. Prot. fr. 27 Dindorf (= Exc. Const. *De Legationibus* 14, p. 458 de Boor) ἰδιοβουλῆσαι, fr. 28 Dindorf (*ibidem* 9, p. 195 de Boor) ἰδιοβουλήσας.

δεῖ, χρήσει, and ποιητέα, but not therefore any less appropriate to H.' characterization of Xerxes.

τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, literally '*I put, place the matter into* (the) *middle*': the force of the idiom, and especially of the prepositional complement, is on a scale ranging from '(place) *within the reach of all*', as in 3.142.3 ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω and 4.161.3 τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε, to something as indefinite as English '(put) *forward*', e.g. with a different verb 4.97.5 ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι . . . (roughly 'I am telling you what is best for *you*'—σοί goes with ἀρίστην). The present context indicates an intermediate position on this scale, as—with a compound of the same verb—in the neatly parallel and equally explicit 1.206.3: ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέῃ.

γνώμην '*insight*', also 9 γ (Mardonius) & 10 γ 2 (Artabanus) & 13.2 (Xerxes) & 18.3 (Artabanus) below, does not differentiate between knowledge and mere opinion, nor between judgments about theoretical questions on the one hand and decisions with practical consequences on the other hand.

ἀποφαίνεσθαι '*declare*': in this type of context, where Xerxes says, 'If *anyone wishes* to speak his mind, I invite him to do so', the present infinitive is regularly used: cf. 8.49.1 προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, and also 3.71.1 ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι.[1]

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[1] With a different verb 4.97.2 εἴ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. For the use of the infinitive in the context of the generalizing ὁ βουλόμενος cf. Stork 1982, p. 246 & p. 433 note 341. C.J. Ruijgh aptly compares the formula τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; e.g. Ar. *Thesm.* 379.

Second speech of Mardonius (9)

9.1

μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· 'Ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μοῦνον εἷς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους.'

1 μόνον L 3 ἐπίκεο (ἐπ+ίκεο B) λέγων **d** 4 ἐάσῃς D | ἡμέων DR: ὑμέων SV | ἀξίους C

After him Mardonius spoke: 'My lord, not only are you the best of the Persians who have been born but also of those that shall be, you who in all else have hit the mark in speaking best and what is most true, and in particular will not allow the Ionians who are settled in Europe to laugh at us, unfit as they are to do so.'

Ὦ δέσποτα '*My lord*', '*Master*': a respectful, even submissive form of address, notwithstanding the speaker's alleged singular influence over his sovereign lord.[1] Mardonius uses the same title without ὦ in 5.2 above; contrast Artabanus' more confident choice of (ὦ) βασιλεῦ '*king*' in 10 α 1 below.[2]—The contribution of the ὦ, which accompanies the vocative δέσποτα in 10 out of its 21 occurrences in H., is not well-defined but may perhaps be looked for in the sphere of emotional appeal: the consistent use of it by Pythios,[3] especially when he does vary between δέσποτα and βασιλεῦ, even within one short speech (38.2–3), at least ensures that it could not have given offence as being unduly familiar, whereas the omission of it by Artemisia both at the beginning of her message to Xerxes and in her order to Mardonius to deliver this message suggests a certain peremptory aloofness.[4] It is worth noting that in both of the other two successions of two speeches within the same context beginning with these forms of address, those by Prexaspes (3.34.2 & 35.4) and by Masistes (9.111.3 & 5), it is the *first* of the speeches which has the variety with ὦ. Cf. on 10 α 1 below s.v. ὦ βασιλεῦ & on 10 η 1 s.v.[5]

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[1] Cf. 7.5.1 δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων.
[2] 7.10.1 πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε.
[3] 7.27.2 & 28.1 & 38.1 & 2 & 3.
[4] 8.68 α 1; later on in γ she switches to ὦ βασιλεῦ.
[5] Pp. 78 & 125 respectively.

γενομένων '*who have been born*' is not, *pace* STEIN, 'auffällig statt πρότερον γενομένων oder προγενομένων':[1] balanced by ἐσομένων '*that shall be*', it opposes past *and present*, i.e. historical fact, to future or posterity. It incidentally makes it easier to pronounce the king ἄριστος without prejudice to his ancestors.

ἄριστος '*the best*' may be predicated of any ordinary king *qualitate qua* as being the first among his peers who are all ἄριστοι in a looser sense, but Xerxes will perpetuate his claim to the epithet by extending his jurisdiction not just farther than any of his predecessors, but indeed as far as is geographically possible.[2]—Mardonius uses it again with reference to Xerxes in the next clause and later on in 10 δ 1.

τά τε ἄλλα (. . .) καί . . . '*in all else . . . and in particular*' highlights what comes after καί; the effect of having the ἄλλα expanded is that what is said of these comes to apply to what follows as well. Here it enables Mardonius to leave it implied that the οὐκ ἐᾶν was just a part of Xerxes' λόγος (cf. λέγων), and to present this intention as a future certainty (and, more obviously, to imply that this is where Xerxes both ἐπίκετο and ἐφίξεται ἄριστα most of all).

ἐπίκεο properly 'you have *come upon*, reached', hence intransitively 'reached, hit *your aim*, succeeded'. Here the object (in Attic usually in the genitive)

ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα '(things) *best and most true*' may be taken either with the participle λέγων or with the finite verb ἐπίκεο or with both (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). Moreover we may regard it either as a direct object: 'you make points of great value and profound truth' or as adverbial 'you succeed very well and truthfully', and here too we should remember that it is only the grammarian, not the native speaker who has to choose between such options.—The only other instance of the verb ἐπικέσθαι in H., in 35.1 below, is different syntactically and itself not without problems: ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης δεινὰ ποιεύμενος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος.

Ἴωνας '*Ionians*', just as Atossa calls them at Aesch. *Pers.* 178 (Ἰαόνων). This name, the one by which the Greeks are still called in Arabic

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[1] Cf. τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε in 8 α 2 above.

[2] Cf. RIJKSBARON 1994, p. 91 on the (possibility of a) 'causal nuance' of the ὅς-clause.

and Modern Persian,[1] presumably sounds more familiar to a Persian audience than Ἕλληνας '*Greeks*', which Mardonius will use in § 2 below in a list of peoples (ἔθνεα) where territory (δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι) rather than affiliation is relevant; moreover it exploits the fact that the Ionians of Asia Minor have already been subdued to hint that a similar treatment awaits those of Europe;[2] compare the next note:

κατοικημένους '*are settled*', the very word which is applied, now with the complement ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, to the Greeks of Minor Asia in α 1 below.[3] Compare

ἐόντας ἀναξίους '*who are unfit*' with ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος in 11.4 below, of 'Pelops the Phrygian' who from the present point of view becomes a European Ionian, and with δούλῳ . . . ἡμετέρῳ in 8 β 3 above of the Asian Greek Aristagoras of Miletus, all three appositions calling attention to a decisive inequality between the Persians and their opponents.

ἀναξίους '*unfit*', whether '*to do so*' or '(no match) *for us*': ἄξιος is a predicate with two places for arguments and should not be taken 'absolutely' as long as a plausible correlate is available in the context. Here the dative ἡμῖν, which does not regularly accompany the adjective, favours the former;[4] with the genitive ἡμέων found in D and R, which does, we might consider an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, but this variant is a *lectio facilior* which presumably in its turn gave rise to the further corruption ὑμέων of S and V.—Cf. ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν in 10 ε below with note s.v.[5]

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[1] Cf. Old Persian *Yauna*, Hebrew *Jāwān*, Egyptian *jwn(n)*'; cf. Frisk s.v. Ἴωνες.

[2] For the use of 'Ionians' as 'the general name of the Greeks in the East' cf. H.&W. *ad loc.* and on 1.142.1. For the Athenians in particular cf. Ψευδαρτάβας in Ar. *Ach.* 104 χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰαοναῦ. C.J. Ruijgh suggests that H. makes Mardonius aware of the fact that the Ionians in Asia Minor were descendants of Athenian colonists, noting that already in Homer the Ἰάονες are equated with the Athenians (N 685 & 689).

[3] Out of 29 instances of the middle perfect of this verb (19 x participle, 9 x indicative, 1 x infinitive) 27 are used with an adjunct of place (13 x ἐν + dative as *h.l.*), 2 with an accusative complement (4.8.2 κατοικημένον τὴν Ἕλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον, 4.71.3 ἐν Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι). Thus it appears to refer to a more 'static' situation than οἰκέω. For the middle C.J. Ruijgh suggests possible influence of κάτημαι.

[4] Not counting *h.l.* καταγελᾶν has a dative complement in 3.37.2 & 38.1 & 155.2, 4.79.4 (ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὦ Σκύθαι), a genitive complement in 5.68.1 ἔνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων.

[5] P. 120.

9.2

'καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα.'

3 προσκτήσασθαι **d** 4 ἀδικίης] ἀληθῆς R: ἀληθεῖς DSV

'For it would moreover be a terrible matter if we have subdued Sacae and Indians and both Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other mighty peoples, so as to hold them as slaves, not because they have done any wrong to the Persians but from a will to acquire power in addition, but shall not avenge ourselves upon Greeks, when they have been the first to offend.'

καὶ γάρ: καί marks an additional claim, and γάρ marks it as throwing light on the preceding one: '*for* it would *moreover* be . . .'. The few other instances of this collocation in H. (1.69.3, 3.33 and 7.223.1) are in narrative sections and bring facts which are new to the reader; here if there is any new information, not just within the limits of Mardonius' speech but also for those listening to him and even for H.' public, it is the qualification of inaction as δεινόν: 'for I will go so far as to call it a terrible thing, if . . .'.

δεινόν '*terrible*' from qualifying objects of *fear* (δεῖμα, δέος, cf. α 1 below δείσαντες) is extended to causes for *alarm, dismay, concern*, or mere *wonder*. Still, there may be a suggestion that it is *dangerous* to allow these men to get away with their actions unpunished, and Artabanus will counter by telling his king what is to be feared in his intended punitive expedition, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, in 10 α 3 below, where see note s.v.[1]

εἰ . . . οὐ '*if* we . . . *not*', not εἰ μή, since we do not have a proper conditional 'a terrible thing may happen *unless* we . . .', but 'it would be a grave matter if we *fail to* . . .': the terrible thing *is* the suppositious event itself, represented non-hypothetically both by the choice of this negation and by the use of a future indicative rather than the potential optative which was found in the main clause. This abandoning of the characterization as a supposition is facilitated by the intervention of a balancing clause likewise depending on εἰ but

[1] P. 83.

referring to historical and present fact, in καταστρεψάμενοι . . . ἔχομεν.[1]

Σάκας μὲν **καὶ** Ἰνδοὺς **καὶ** Αἰθίοπας 'Sacae *and* (*also*) Indians *and* (*also*) Ethiopians': καί, properly introducing an addition with a certain news value, one that we have not been prepared for and could not predict, is appropriate to a series meant to impress by accumulative effect. The subsequent insertion of τε, in other words the change to Αἰθίοπάς **τε καὶ** Ἀσσυρίους '*both* Ethiopians *and* Assyrians' announces the end to this sequence; the item tacked on to it by solitary τε in ἄλλα **τε** ἔθνεα '*and* other peoples' is a merely amplifying *etcetera*.[2]

ἔθνεα πολλὰ **καὶ** μεγάλα 'many (Ø) mighty peoples': 'πολύς and a qualitative attribute applied to a single substantive . . . are normally linked by καί' (Denniston p. 290). From a different point of view, modern languages tend to juxtapose coordinate attributes, including indefinite numerals, without a conjunction.

ἀδικήσαντα . . . οὐδὲν **ἀλλά** . . . βουλόμενοι: the particle has no indispensable syntactic role to play, since the two participle phrases divided by it are predicative adjuncts of different constituents. Its use is motivated by semantic considerations: in marking an antithesis between the negative first and positive second phrase it presents these as complementary in their contribution to the content: in the context their common job is seen to be that of defining the motive for the action referred to by καταστρεψάμενοι. In English the natural way to express this is by means of two parallel clauses, one of them with the negative: '*not* because *p*, *but* because *q*'. This formal similarity in turn requires that we should emphasize the change in subject: 'not because *they*, but because *we* . . .'.

δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι '*acquire power in addition*', **ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης** '*having offended first*', and **τιμωρησόμεθα** '*we shall avenge ourselves upon*' all

[1] Cf. Wakker 1994, p. 288: 'whereas οὐ occurs only in those indicative clauses which have a resumptive function and where the negation belongs to the information resumed.' She paraphrases thus: 'it would be strange if the situation is thus [as is made possible by Xerxes' request for advice]: on the one hand we have enslaved others (who are blameless), but, on the other hand, we will not exact vengeance from the Athenians (who wronged us).' On the use of οὐ in indicative εἰ-clauses cf. also KG II 369 and Basset 1989, pp. 21–47, particularly pp. 38–47. KG II 190 cite Lysias 20.19 ἦ δεινὰ τἂν πάθοιμεν, εἰ . . . τούτους μὲν ἀφεῖτε . . ., ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . οὐ χαριεῖσθε (C.J. Ruijgh).

[2] Cf. Brouwer 1975, p. 63.

echo phrases in Xerxes' preceding speech: προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν in 8 α 2 (with note s.v.),[1] ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες in 8 β 2 (with note),[2] and formations from τιμωρ- in α 2 & β 1 & 2 (cf. next note). An element of obsequious flattery is conceivable, but it should be borne in mind that the original public of H.' lectures, and even ancient readers, wanted the facilities for reference that we take for granted, which justifies the occasional reminder of notions as central as the prime motives for Persian aggression. To incorporate such reaffirmations into direct speeches is economical in that it adds the information that a view is shared by different participants, and elegant in that it wards off repetitiveness.

καταστρεψάμενοι . . . ἔχομεν '*we have subdued*': cf. καταστρεψάμενοι . . . ἔχομεν in 9 α 1 below; for ἔχειν with an aorist participle cp. KEIL 1963, p. 46; KLOSE 1968, p. 153.

Σάκας μὲν . . . ἀδικήσαντα οὐδέν . . . Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης: for the 'antithetischer Parallelismus' cf. MÜLLER 1980, p. 99.

τιμωρήσομεθα '*we shall avenge ourselves upon*': for the sense cf. on 8 α 2 s.v. τιμωρίην;[3] for the construction on 8 β 1 s.v. τιμωρήσομαι;[4] and for the mood above s.v. εἰ . . . οὐ.

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1 P. 22.
2 P. 31.
3 P. 25.
4 P. 27.

9 α 1

'τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται.'

2 μὲν om. SV

'*Fearing what thing? What sort of concentration of troops? What sort of potential of money? Of men whose fighting we know and whose potential we know to be without force; and we have subdued their sons, the ones that, settled in our (land), are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians.*'

κοίην '*what sort of*': Stein on 1.30.4 has it that κοῖος 'steht schlechthin für τίς', but more probably the preceding τί is neutral with regard to the question whether any such item is in fact there, whereas κοίην presupposes a negative answer to this rhetorical question and goes on to imply that not only there *is* none in fact, but moreover it is hard to imagine such a one as *could* inspire this fear in us Persians.[1]

πλήθεος '*of troops*': the nearest equivalent to πλῆθος, etymologically 'fullness', is *multitude*. It generally refers to a concrete plurality of men, e.g. the rank and file as opposed to the horse in οὔτε πλήθεϊ ἕξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, 177 below; the nearest approach to an abstract use in H. is τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν in 187.1 below. Cf. 9 γ with note s.v. (καὶ πλῆθος τὸ) ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης κτλ.[2]

συστροφήν '*concentration*': the noun, rare in older prose in general, in H. occurs only here, but he offers six instances of the corresponding verb συστρέφειν in the sense of '*collect, unite*': 1.101 τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε; 4.136.1 οἱ δὲ . . ., συστραφέντες, αἵ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μετὰ Σαυροματέων καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἐδίωκον κτλ; 6.6 συστραφέντες . . . οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . . καὶ ἓν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον & 40.1 (συνεστράφησαν); 9.18.1 ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα & 62.3 προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι κτλ. Several of these contexts are, just like the

[1] On the rhetorical question cf. Brouwer 1975, p. 26.
[2] Pp. 71–2.

present one, explicit to the point of redundancy, suggesting that the word is a perhaps recently coined technical term of the military art and/or carries certain rhetorical, conceivably propagandistic, overtones.

πλήθεος . . . χρημάτων '*troops . . . money*': the double boast was ascribed to the Persians by tradition; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 235–7 where Atossa is made to inquire after the ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ and πλοῦτος on the Greek side.

χρημάτων δύναμιν '*potential* of, i.e based on, residing in *money*': STEIN aptly compares Thuc. 1.25.4 (the Corcyreans) χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες . . . ὁμοῖα (to the richest of the Greeks) καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι (than the Corinthians). 'What wealth have they to strengthen them' POWELL *tr.*

τῶν '*of men whose*': no antecedent was formally expressed in the three preceding interrogative phrases, but there is one implied in πλήθεος and presupposed by δύναμιν. The elliptic nature of these phrases, themselves parasitic on the clause Ἕλληνας . . . οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα which preceded *them*, ensures that we understand the reference to be to the Greeks.

ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν . . ., **ἐπιστάμεθα** δέ: on the anaphora cf. MÜLLER 1980, p. 98.

μάχην '*fight*' may denote any manifestation of μάχεσθαι, usually some particular battle, but sometimes, with a genitive adjunct, more abstractly some party's fighting technique.[1]

δύναμιν . . . ἀσθενέα '*potential* or *ability . . . weak*', more literally '*without force,—strength*', does not seem to strike Greek ears as an oxymoron or a contradiction in terms, cf. 5.36.3 ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα.

ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα '(as) *being weak*', '*to be weak*': as far as syntax and rhetoric go, the predicative complement could conceivably be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both objects—the singular could be retained because the repetition of the verb yields two clauses, each of which has one singular object—but in sense it would seem to suit δύναμιν rather better than μάχη.

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[1] To POWELL's examples s.v. under (2) add 1.79.3 ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, and read *9*.46.2 instead of *7*.46.2.

δέ '*and*': STEIN's note 'ἔχομεν δέ... begründet ἐπιστάμεθα—μάχην...' is convincing as a final interpretation of the clause as a whole in its context, but there has been a tendency from antiquity onwards to argue from such cases to a specialized 'δέ instead of γάρ' (cf. DENNISTON pp. 169–70);[1] STEIN himself refers to 1.136.1 τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει (...). τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι, where his note reads 'δέ führt die beiläufig erläuternde Bemerkung ein'. It is better to connect these uses with contexts in which δέ 'knüpft die zweite Bezeichnung derselben Person an' (STEIN on 1.114.5 ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδός) and widen this category to one in which δέ adds, not a second *reference* to the same *person*, but a second *predication* about the same *subject* or *topic*. In such instances of successive statements with identical *referents* modern languages tend to employ relative clauses, in which case it is normal for the semantic relation between relative and main clause to be left unspecified; it is merely a consequence of this that we are less accustomed than Greek speakers were to finding semantic relations between *coordinate* sentences with identical referents left unexpressed.[2] Cf. δέ in 8 β 3 above with note s.v.[3]

ἔχομεν... καταστρεψάμενοι '*we have subdued*': cp. καταστρεψάμενοι... ἔχομεν in 9.2 above; for ἔχειν with an aorist participle cp. KEIL 1963, pp. 46–7; KLOSE 1968, p. 153.

παῖδας '*sons*' in H. is extended to descendants of later generations,[4] specifically to inhabitants of a colony with respect to their colonizing fatherland here and in 3.19.2, where the Phoenicians are said to apply it to the Carthaginians. Obviously at one point in an ancestral line it is literally true that a Carthaginian was the son of a Phoenician. That this is nevertheless a non-standard use of the word is confirmed by the explanatory specification which follows in the words

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[1] Thus also BROUWER 1975, p. 47.

[2] By this account the two occurrences of δέ in 3.106.2 (...) τὰ ἔμψυχα... μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοισί ἐστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων· οὗτοι *δὲ* ἑσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων *δὲ* καλευμένων ἵππων would be reduced to the same function of the particle.

[3] Pp. 32–3.

[4] POWELL's reference s.v. under (3) to 4.147.3 (*read* 4.147.2) for this use should be deleted.

τούτους οἳ κτλ '*those* (*which* are) established in our (country) and called &c.'

ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ '*in our* (*land*)': see on 8 δ 1 above s.v. ἐν ἡμετέρου.[1]

κατοικημένοι '*settled*', see on 9.1 above s.vv. Ἴωνας and κατοικημένους.[2]

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[1] P. 47.
[2] Pp. 51–2.

9 α 2

ʻἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς, καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠντιώθη ἐς μάχην.ʼ

2 κελευθείς R 3 ἀντιώθη **a**

ʻI have tried (them) myself too already when I marched against those men by your father's order, and when I had marched as far as Macedonia and had come just a little short of reaching Athens itself, nobody had encountered me in battle.ʼ

ἐπειρήθην ʻ*I have tried* (*them*)ʼ: in more explicit contexts the verb has either an infinitive verb or a genitive noun phrase as a complement. Here the latter would have been apposite in the form of τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, but the object is construed with the participle adjunct ἐπελαύνων ἐπί rather than with the finite verb.—Cf. πειρᾶν in β 2 below with note s.v.[1]

ἤδη ʻ*actually*ʼ and ʻ*already*ʼ is a coalescence of two particles presenting *assertively* (ἦ) some piece of information as *obvious* (δή), which from stressing present fact (*actually*)[2] has specialized into an adverb opposing some point in time either to what precedes or to what follows it, e.g. to note that this point has occurred earlier (*already*) or later (*at last*) than might have been expected or wished, or to urge that it should not be delayed (*at once*). Also 11.4, 16 γ 2 and 18.2 below with notes s.v.[3]

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[1] P. 68.

[2] Cf. 3.153.2–154.1 καί οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὅς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἁλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἁλώσιμος ἤδη ἡ Βαβυλών· σὺν γάρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἁλίσκεσθαι κτλ. Cf. Frisk s.v. ἤδη and Schwyzer-Debrunner p. 563. As C.J. Ruijgh points out, the coalescence of ἦ + δή predates Homer: already in Homer ἤδη can be positioned later in the sentence and is not restricted to direct speech; he compares ἠμέν, ἠδέ, ἤτοι (= μέν).

[3] Pp. 170 & 253 & 277 respectively.

ἀπολιπόντι '*leaving (, having left)*', i.e. '*—to be desired*', '*falling short, wanting*'. The standard someone or something falls short *of*, usually expressed in the genitive case which goes with the preverb ἀπο-, here takes the form of an 'epexegetic' infinitive complement, approximating the verb to an auxiliary: '*failing* (to reach Athens by a small margin), *coming* a little *short of* reaching . . .'.

9 β 1

'καίτοι [γε] ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑσσουμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται.'

1 γε om. **a**TM | εἰώθασι AB: ἐώθεσαν D | πολέμου DRV 2 +++ἐπεὰν D | γὰρ om. SV 3 προσείπωσι(ν) **d** | λεότατον **a** 5 ἐσσωμένων PR: ἐσομένων CSV

'And yet Hellenes are accustomed, as I am told, to set up battles in the most ill-advised way, through both lack of understanding and awkwardness: for as soon as they have proclaimed war on one another, they search out the finest and levelest space, and going down into that they fight, with the result that those who win get off with great harm to themselves. Of those who are defeated I do not speak at all, for clearly these are utterly destroyed.'

καίτοι: the three uses or 'senses' commonly distinguished, 'adversative' *howbeit* (DENNISTON p. 556, POWELL s.v. 2), 'continuative' *moreover* (p. 559 and POWELL s.v. 3), and 'logical' *now*, . . . (p. 561, 1), can be related to a semantic contribution which may be exaggerated as '*at the same time, you can take it from me*, . . .', to which they stand as context-bound interpretations of the pragmatic function of individual instances.[1] Also 10 γ 2 below.

γε: it is *a priori* more likely that an original γε has been lost in one branch of the tradition[2] than that a spurious one has been inserted, nor is this implausible palaeographically, the E being identical with the letter following it and the first stroke of the Γ with the I preceding it. As to the sense, however, γε contributes most if it is to underline the fact that Mardonius' statement about Greek military practice is *limited* to what they *customarily* do.[3] This would normally

[1] On καίτοι cf. JACQUINOD 1997: 'C'est un marqueur dont le rôle est de souligner l'introduction d'une idée qui doit faire réfléchir sur ce qui vient d'être dit. Sa fonction est éminemment pragmatique.' (p. 148).

[2] γε om. **a**TM. LEGRAND follows HUDE in reading καίτοι [γε], ROSÉN reads καίτοι γε.

[3] Cf. notes on 8 β 2 above and 10 γ 2 & 11.4 below s.vv. γε, καὶ (τότε) γε . . . (εἰ) and ἄνδρας τούτους τούς γε καί, pp. 31 & 103 & 170–1 respectively.

be effected by having γε *after* the limitation which is to be brought into relief: *καίτοι ἐώθασί γε Ἕλληνες;[1] by contrast a non-split καίτοι γε is unparallelled in H. It is worth pointing out that γε would be as likely to be overlooked if it stood between ἐώθασι and Ἕλληνες as it is between καίτοι and ἐώθασι. It is possible to speculate that a γε originally following ἐώθασι was lost in part of the tradition and then, upon collation with a MS. preserving it, reinserted, but in the wrong place.

ἀβουλότατα 'in the most *ill-advised* way'. In 3.71.3 ἀβούλως is opposed to σωφρονέστερον; in 9 γ below the ἀβουλίη of the Greeks is found in their offering battle to the Persians at all, cf. note s.v.[2]

πολέμους refers to '*battles*' rather than to wars, to go by the explanation in the γάρ sentence which follows. By contrast the singular **πόλεμον** (προείπωσι) in the same sentence is equivalent to (declaring) '*war*'. Out of 114 instances in H., POWELL classifies only three, which do not include the present one, under a heading '2. *almost* battle', yet the word may be allowed to retain the range of reference it has in the *Iliad.*

ἵστασθαι '*set up*', more literally than 'institute' (POWELL s.v. I 3) or 'set on foot, stir up' (LSJ s.v. A III 2), as witness χωρίον in the next sentence and in τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἵοισι χώροισι (or χωρίοισι) in 175.1 below, and τῇ there and in 236.3 τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον below.

ἀγνωμοσύνης properly denotes the condition of one who lacks γνώμη, '*discernment, understanding*' or '*insight*', cf. 8 δ 2 with note s.v. γνώμην above.[3] The Greeks tended to explain behaviour in what would later be understood as primarily cognitive terms, and to this extent words signifying the absence of such a faculty (e.g. ἀνόητος, ἄφρων) often carry overtones of a lack or failure in what would now be regarded as belonging to the emotional or moral or social spheres—things like tact, feeling, fairness, modesty, self-control, or moral spine. In several of the six remaining instances of the present noun in H., the

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[1] Cf. 2.148.2, 3.15.3 & 80.4, 5.45.2, 7.148.4, 8.86 & 112.3; cf. KG II 152, DENNISTON p. 564.

[2] P. 74.

[3] P. 49.

species of γνώμη supposed to be lacking is in the context seen to be the disposition towards a peaceful settlement of differences:[1] the most telling example is 4.93 οἱ μὲν ... ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ· οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηιότατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι, where the connotation cannot, in view of the two subsequent epithets, be wholly unfavourable.

σκαιότητος '*awkwardness*': the noun in H. only here; the adjective σκαιός '(to the) *left*' is confined to metaphorical left-handedness in prose writers (as distinct from ἀριστερός which tends to be literal; δεξιός is the antonym of both: the favourable side has no need of a euphemistic alternative label), and more precisely to mental awkwardness in H.: in 1.129.3 (*bis*) a man is said to be most σκαιός of men for failing to seize an opportunity to become king, in 3.53.4 φιλοτιμίη, properly 'love of honour', is qualified as a σκαιόν possession: one that makes a person lacking in *savoir-faire*, an embarrassment.

προείπωσι '*proclaim*': with this verb the contribution of the preverb προ- 'before' is either temporal: *beforehand*, or it serves to specify who is witness to the statement in question: *in front of*, whether of everybody, i.e. *publicly*, or of those whom it concerns (e.g. 116 below ὡς ... ἐς τὴν Ἄκανθον ἀπίκετο ξεινίην ... ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε), as is often the case when the object is not a declaration so much as a command (e.g. 12.2 below μετὰ ... βουλεύεαι ... στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ... προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσῃσι στρατόν). Again, it is not impossible for more than one interpretation to apply at the same time, as here and below, 12.2 just quoted & 18.3 (Artabanus to Xerxes) χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι & 119.1 δεῖπνον ... ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον.—Cf. προαγόρευε 10 δ 1 below with note s.v.[2]

κατιόντες 'going *down*': λειότατον 'levelest' appears to specify the χωρίον as a plain (πεδίον λεῖον 2.29.3) between and below mountains or hills.

σὺν κακῷ 'with harm *to themselves*'. κακόν often refers to what is bad *for* someone or something; Greek usage leaves it to be understood

[1] 2.172.2, 4.93, 5.83.1, 6.10, 9.3.1 & 4.2—the underlying adjective ἀγνώμων in 9.41.4 (ἀγνωμονεστέρη).

[2] Pp. 107–8.

that the adversely affected are the subject of the sentence. The listener or reader is helped by the preposition σύν, which often implies a little more than English *with*: '*together* with, *attended* by'.[1] Cf. 8 γ 2 above s.v. ἅμα.[2]

οὐδέ . . . ἀρχήν 'not even . . . *to begin with*', '. . . *in the first place*', i.e. '. . . *at all*'. ἀρχήν without preposition or article, used like an adverb, is found in H. 14 times without a negation, in its temporal sense, and 17 times with a negation, serving to render this negation more categorical. In seven of these instances the negation is (adverbial, not coordinating) οὐδέ (also 1.193.3, 2.95.3, 5.106.4, 6.33.3, 7.26.2) or μηδέ (3.39.4).

λέγω '*I . . . speak*': for the present tense cf. KLOSE 1968, pp. 124, 181.

ἐξώλεες, related to ἐξόλλυμι ('pernicious') and ἐξόλλυμαι ('be ruined, destroyed, wiped out'), in H. only here; in this passive sense it belongs to the terminology of malediction and revenge.

δή: see on 8 β 1 s.v. above.[3] If even the victor suffers great losses, it is *clear* what happens to the losers.

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[1] Dutch 'gepaard gaand met' (C.J. Ruijgh).
[2] Pp. 39–40.
[3] P. 28.

9 β 2

'τοὺς χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἑκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης [γῆς] οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι.'

1 τούτους **d** | διαχρεωμένοισι **d** 3 πολεμεῖν **a**RV | χρὴ CRSV 3–4 ἑκάτεροί εἰσι] ἑκατέροισι DRV: ἑκάτεροι S 4 δυσχειρώτατοι $A^1D^1P^1$: δυσχειρότατοι $CRSVD^c$ 5 ἐλάσοντος D | γῆς om. **d** 6 τοῦτον T

'These (are men) who, being of the same tongue, ought to manage their differences by employing both criers and messengers and by any means rather than by fighting. And if it were required (of them) in any case to wage war on one another, they ought to search out on which side each party is hardest to overcome and make an attempt on that side. As it is I tell you the Hellenes behaved in a way one should have no dealings with when, after I had marched as far as Macedonia, their calculations never added up to a decision to fight.'

χρῆν (*bis*) '*ought to*', formally a past tense indicative, used in explicit oppositions to actual fact also 39.1 below and (with the augment ἐχρῆν) 2.173.2, 3.52.4.[1]

κήρυξί τε . . . καὶ ἀγγέλοισι '*criers and messengers*': the function of a κῆρυξ is to speak out loud and bold, that of an ἄγγελος to convey a communication from A to B; the roles may well fall to the same person, as already at Α 334 (Achilles to Talthybius and Eurybates) χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

διαχρεωμένους '*employing*': with this verb accompanied by a dative object the interpretation of the preverb δια- 'through' is mostly temporal '*to the end*', i.e. often *habitually*; in the next sentence the duration of διαχρεώμενοι is defined by the absolute genitive ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος, in 102.1 below Demaratus, giving heed to Xerxes' injunction to ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι, describes Greece as ἀρετῇ διαχρεωμένη.

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[1] In 3.65.5 τὸν . . . χρῆν . . . τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος . . . τετελεύτηκε a temporal interpretation 'the man whose duty it was to' and a modal one 'he that ought to' seem equally plausible.

καταλαμβάνειν, properly 'to seize downwards', i.e. '—from above', like English '*arrest*' may connote restricting someone's liberty or checking the progress of something. Here the object τὰς διαφοράς 'their differences' suggests 'finding a way to manage' them,[1] and fighting (μάχῃσι), *pace* LSJ (s.v. V 2 'put an end to'), hardly seems the obvious procedure to this end; it is more natural to assume a slight anacoluthon, 'to manage them by any means rather than *by fighting*' standing for '—rather than *to fight*'.—Cf. below on 10 γ 1 s.v. καταλαβεῖν.[2]

πάντως '*in all ways, at any rate, in any case*': in 16 out of 33 instances in H. with what is imperative or desirable, '*by all means*', seven of these with a form of δεῖν, e.g. 10 θ 1 below; in 102.1 below with κελεύεις; cf. καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην in 15.3 below with note s.v. πάντως γενέσθαι.[3]

τῇ . . . ταύτῃ '*on which side/in which way . . . on that side/in that way*'. Though we could translate 'where . . . there', rather more seems to be involved than just the place (χωρίον in β 1 above) in which to fight: the point is for each adversary to make the most of his advantages.

ἑκάτεροι '*each party*': formally a predicative adjunct of the implicit subject of the dependent clause τῇ . . . εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, semantically just as appropriate to the verb ἐξευρίσκειν which this clause depends on and to πειρᾶν which follows; what makes it easy to take the pronoun with all these verbs is the fact that the subject remains the same—τούς, i.e. the Greeks, whose division has been insinuated by ὁμογλώσσους and ἀλλήλους, and by the topic of διαφοραί as a whole.

δυσχειρωτότατοι '*hardest to overcome*', here alone in H., recurring in [Dem.] (δυσχείρωτ(α) 61.37) and in later historians; the opposite εὐπετὴς χειρωθῆναι 'easily worsted' is applied to the Persians 3.145.2, 5.49.4 & 97.1, to Samos 3.120.3.[4]

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[1] Cf. 3.128.1, thirty volunteers ἐρίζοντας . . . Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι.

[2] P. 100.

[3] P. 211.

[4] On the conjecture εὐχειρωτότατοι, made by Kopff 1975, cp. Maxwell 1976 and O'Sullivan 1976.

πειρᾶν '*to make an/the attempt*', sc. '*on one another*', to be understood from πρὸς ἀλλήλους and ἑκάτεροι; cf. ἐπειρήθην in α 2 above with note s.v.[1]

τρόπῳ . . . διαχρεώμενοι '*acting, behaving in* such-and-such a *way*', whether with singular or plural noun and whether with simple or compound verb, is a frequent turn of phrase for what is customary or habitual: thus 1.97.3 & 173.1, 2.77.2 & 127.1, 3.71.4, 4.96.2, and 236.1 below; cf. ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο 4.76.5 and διαχρεωμένους above with note s.v.

τοίνυν in H. 16 times in direct speech, six times in narrative. Mardonius paraphrases his own diatribe on warfare and takes up his statement of α 2; likewise resumptive or summarizing 2.142.4 and 50.2 below (§ 1 κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα . . . ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα . . .) τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν κτλ. These are related to a more general function of *marking* the selection of an element present in the context as *a topic*, in order to call attention to the new information which is about to be provided on this topic: 3.82.4 ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης κτλ; 5.1 above ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς . . . Ξέρξην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης κτλ; 5.92 ζ 1. Where it is more than just a device for organizing a discourse, the particle intimates that the audience 'can take it from the speaker that . . .'; here because he is speaking from his own experience. The same sense, if not the same motivation, in 3.82.5 and in 50.4 below. It is this element of *personal appeal* which explains the affinity of the particle with *directive* speech acts, e.g. 1.209.5 σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο κτλ, and 3.85.2 and 1.112.2 quoted below. The occurrences in H. of the sequences εἰ τοίνυν and ἐπεὶ τοίνυν—six of each, together accounting for over half of all instances of the particle in H.—present a movement from that which is known or accepted, which is summarized in the dependent clause, to that which the speaker takes responsibility for, which is communicated in the main clause: with εἰ 1.57.3, 2.15.2 & 22.4, 3.85.2 εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρη μηχανᾶσθαι, 7.50.3 & 139.2 (§ 1 τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές οὐκ ἐπισχήσω.) εἰ . . ., κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο. With ἐπεί 1.112.2 (§ 1 ἡ δὲ . . .

[1] P. 60.

ἐχρήιζε . . . ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη . . .) ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν . . ., σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον; also 3.134.6, 5.40.1, 162.1 below, 9.42.2 & 46.2.—Cf. Van Ophuijsen 1993, pp. 163–4.

χρηστῷ: just as (*χρήομαι)) Ionic χρέωμαι, Attic χρῶμαι is 'deal, be involved with' in a more general sense than 'use', so χρηστός is more than just 'useful': 'worth dealing, having to do with', a fairly comprehensive term of approbation or, negated, of disapproval. Here οὐ χρηστῷ contrasts in particular with διαχρεώμενοι.—Also 15.1 & 16 α 1 below with notes s.vv. χρηστῆς & χρηστά.[1]

ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης '*after I had marched as far as Macedonia*': cf. μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι in 9 α 2 above; on the function of the 'Ringkomposition' cf. Beck 1971, pp. 46–7.[2]

λόγον: the idiom remains elusive, but the application of the word to a *computation* or *sum* seems more relevant than that to a 'Gedanke' (Stein): the *sum total* of their *calculations*, taking into *account* their customary strategy, has never *amounted, added up* to a decision to oppose the invader. Cf. λογιζόμενος 8 γ 1 above with note s.v.[3]

ὥστε: cf. on 16 γ 2 below s.v. ὥστε.[4]

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[1] Pp. 205 & 220 respectively.
[2] Cf. Beck 1971, pp. 46–7: 'Diese Art der Ringkomposition [i.e. 'Die Angabe der Ergänzung' as subtype of 'Die beweisende Ringkomposition'] ist besonders dort verwendet, wo es sich um etwas handelt, was Erstaunen erregt, . . ., VII 9 α 2–β 2 das Fehlen des griechischen Kampfgeistes, wie es dem Mardonius auffiel. Das Wunderbare des A[nfangs]G[lied] kann hier bewiesen werden durch das M[ittel]G[lied], das den Verlauf, wie er normalerweise zu erwarten wäre, aufzeigt, und zu besonderer Wirkung gebracht werden durch das E[nd]G[lied], das dieses Wunderbare wiederholt.'
[3] P. 37.
[4] Pp. 250–1.

9 γ

'σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας τὰς ἁπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θάρσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευσθείην γνώμῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἰμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι.'

1 τις AP | ἀντιώσασθαι RSV | προσφέρων S 3 θράσεος **a**P 4 ἐγὼ **d**P: ἐγώ τε Bekker | παρεπαρθέντες **d** 5 πολεμήϊα **d** 7 φιλέεισι V

'Who then, sire, will oppose you offering battle, while you lead both the infantry from Asia and all your ships? As I deem, the power of Hellenes does not come up to that (degree) of self-confidence; but if it appeared I was deceived in judgement and these men, roused by ill-advisedness, met us in battle, they might then learn how we are best of (all) mankind in matters of war. In any case, let nothing be untried. For nothing tends to come about of its own accord, no, all things tend to come to men from trying.'

δή '*evidently, obviously*': for the particle in general see on 8 β 1 above s.v.;[1] here, as in β 1, the evidence is that of an argument *a fortiori*: if they refrained from assailing an humble vassal, how shall they face up to the king and all his host?

μέλλει . . . ἀντιώσεσθαι '*will oppose you*': cf. (Xerxes) μέλλω . . . ἐλᾶν in 8 β 1 above with note s.v. μέλλω.[2]

τίς '*who* (will . . .?)': the reading τις '(will) *anyone* (. . .?)' of MSS. A and P deserves consideration on grounds of word order. To defend the interrogative reading as a *lectio difficilior* on the strength of the postponement of the pronoun would be begging the question; we are dealing with what presumably are both interpretations of one unaccented script, not with different wordings, one of which may be original.

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[1] P. 28.

[2] According to Ruijgh 1985a, p. 330 = 603 (cf. note 1 p. 26 on 8 β 1 s.v. μέλλω), the future infinitive is used here because the point of reference is Xerxes' recent decision (8 β 1) to undertake an expedition against Greece: from that moment (and not before) the possibility of Greek opposition has become relevant ('futur relatif').

ὦ βασιλεῦ: see note ad ὦ δέσποτα 9.1 above.[1]

προφέρων '*offering*': the verb is used transitively in H. of what people 'bring forward' and confront others with, usually by verbal means ('*adduce*'), in some rather diverse connections. In 1.3.2 Greeks demand compensation for Helen and hear Trojans προφέρειν σφι (in excuse) their rape of Medea. 3.120.2 in a dispute between two Persian satraps over their respective merits has one προφέροντα the other (dative) his failure to capture Samos. In 4.151.1 the inhabitants of Thera after seven years of drought consult Apollo; the Pythia προέφερε (in explanation) the colony they had omitted to dispatch to Libya. In 5.63.1 the Pythia is supposed to be bribed to προφέρειν 'put it to' the Spartans (dative) to liberate Athens; in 9.46.3 Athenians claim to have had in mind all along what Spartans now προφέρετε 'come up with' first. In 8.61.1 Adeimantus of Corinth προέφερε 'cast in his teeth' Themistocles (dative) his offering advice while being without a country, 'because Athens had been taken', and similarly in 8.125.1 one Timodemus of Aphidnae picks a quarrel with Themistocles προφέρων his coming to Sparta, where the notion of rebuke (as in 8.61.1) certainly applies, and perhaps also that of a pretext (as in 1.3.2) as opposed to the actual motive of insane jealousy (φθόνῳ καταμαργέων).[2]

πλῆθος '*multitude*', hence '*rank and file, infantry*': see on 9 α 1 above s.v. πλήθεος.[3]

(καὶ πλῆθος τὸ) **ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης** (καὶ νέας τὰς) **ἁπάσας** '(the infantry) *from Asia* (and) *all* (your ships, fleet)': STEIN decrees that both attributes qualify both objects (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ VAN GRONINGEN). While it is plausible enough that they apply to both *in fact*, it is legitimate to doubt whether this is expressed in the Greek phrase. It is at least fair to point out that (1) πλῆθος 'multitude' is less in need of the epithet 'all' to suggest an impressive plurality than the more neutral νέας

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[1] P. 50.

[2] For verbal προφέρειν cf. B 251 (Odysseus to Thersites) (τῶ οὐκ ἂν . . .) καί σφιν (i.e. the kings) ὀνείδεά τε προφέροις and Γ 64 (Paris to Hector) μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης and for non-verbal προφέρειν of impalpable objects, as in our passage, cf. K 479 (Odysseus to Diomedes) ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε κρατερὸν μένος and ζ 92 (of Nausicaa and her companions) ἔριδα προφέρουσαι 'putting up a competition'.

[3] P. 57. BECK 1971, p. 81 note 165 cites this (9 α 1–γ) as an instance of 'die beweisende Ringkomposition'.

'ships' is; by contrast (2) the adjunct 'from Asia' makes sense in specifying a large, indeed a superior, force of men, but is not particularly apposite to a fleet.

(ὡς) **μὲν** (ἐγὼ δοκέω) 'as *I* deem' is balanced, with variation, by (εἰ) **δὲ** (... ἔγωγε ψευσθείην γνώμῃ) '*but* if *I* am deceived in judgement'.

ἐς . . . ἀνήκει '*has come up to*'; in this context approximately 'is sufficient for'. The complement following the proposition most often specifies some state or condition of the subject of the verb, as in 13.2 φρενῶν ... ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω & 16 γ 2 οὐ ... ἐς τοσοῦτο ... εὐηθίης ἀνήκει ... τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ & 237.2 εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι below, cf. 5.49.3 τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι, 8.111.3 'Ανδρίους ... εἶναι γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, and 134.2 below χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα; however, it may also specify a standard to measure this subject against, as in 2.127.1 πυραμίδα ... ἐς ... τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν and in 60.2 below αἱμασιὴν ... ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν, or yet another term, which the subject 'has arrived at' in some less obviously quantifiable relation: e.g. 2.104.2 τοῦτο ... ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει of an insufficiently exclusive explanation; 6.109.4 κῶς ἐς σέ ... τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν ('pertains' POWELL s.v. 3, 'has come to you/become yours to have' LSJ s.v. I 2), and here. We find ἀπικνέεσθαι similarly used at 1.124.1 οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ in a speech and at 3.146.1 οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι.

πρήγματα: see on 10 γ 2 & 18.2 below s.v.[1]

εἰ ... **ἄρα** 'if *it appears/appeared that*': the particle is regularly used with statements which the speaker does not claim personal responsibility for but which he either assumes for the sake of the argument, or presents as resting on evidence which is equally accessible to his addressee as to himself. This accounts for its frequent occurrence with propositions which the speaker is prepared to entertain, yet considers unlikely, as here. Cf. KG II 324–5, VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993, p. 128 and WAKKER 1994, pp. 343–50 & 1997, pp. 233–5.[2]

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[1] Pp. 104–5 & 278 respectively.

[2] WAKKER 1994, p. 350: 'My conclusion is that ἄρα in conditionals, as elsewhere, is a modal particle, specifying the attitude of the speaker with regard to the proposition he puts forward for consideration. It has the semantic value "surprisingly", which, depending on the context, may be interpreted as "unwished for", "unexpectedly" and the like.'

ἔγωγε, a strengthened form of ἐγώ, which is itself more emphatic than English '*I*' since it is optional,[1] at once (1) brings into relief the continuity of subject between the μέν- and the first half of the δέ- dependent clause, spanning the intervening main clause, and (2) prepares for the change of grammatical subject (to ἐκεῖνοι) within the compound δέ- dependent clause.

ψευσθείην γνώμῃ 'am *deceived, mistaken in judgment*'. The verb more often has a genitive complement, 'to be *disappointed of*', e.g. ἐλπίδος 'one's hope'. In 8.40.1 this genitive construction is found with the noun we here have in a dative: βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. This yields, *pace* ABICHT, STEIN, POWELL s.v. 3, and LSJ s.v. I 3, a quite different interpretation from that with the dative: '*disabused of their* (sc. former) *judgment*'.[2]—For γνώμη cf. above on 8 δ 2 s.v. γνώμην.[3]

ἐκεῖνοι '*these men*': ἐκεῖνοι has a surplus value over merely anaphoric οὗτοι which in this context might go beyond indicating distance in space, 'those men over there', to characterizing the Greeks as 'the others' distinct from us and Your Majesty, and so perhaps even connoting 'our adversaries'.

ἐπαρθέντες '*rouse*': of the 13 instances of transitive ἐπαίρειν in H., 11 refer to incitements to action; the remaining two, 1.212.2 and 4.130, to past achievement as a ground for satisfaction ('elated'). Such references to methods of ἐπαίρειν and motives for ἐπαίρεσθαι are apt to be made in blaming one's own mistakes on some external agent (1.87.3 αἴτιος . . . ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπάρας ἐμέ; 5.91.2 συγγιγνώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς· ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν . . . ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν; cf. 1.90.3 & 4), or when impeaching one's opponent (10 η 1 below, Artabanus protesting that Mardonius Ἕλληνας . . . διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι); this explains why the use of the verb is limited to deplorable actions (5.81.2 πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον) or questionable incentives (6.132 φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν . . . αἴτεε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοισι ἐπαρθέντες παρέδοσαν), or combinations of both (9.49.1 ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ

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[1] Cf. above on 8 α 2 s.v. ἐγώ p. 25.
[2] Cf. KG I 396 about ψεύδεσθαι with the 'ablativischer Genetiv' and 400 about 'Ψευσθῆναι mit instrum. Dativ . . . (Die γνώμη selbst ist Ursache der Täuschung).'
[3] P. 49.

τοὺς Ἕλληνας), even when found in the narrative of H. speaking in his own person (also below 18.4 τῇ ὄψι & 38.1 τοῖσι δωρήμασι) or in a diagnosis attributed to another speaker, as here.—On ἐπαίρω cf. AVERY 1979, p. 6.

ἀβουλίῃ '*ill-advisedness, lack of discretion*', ascribed to the Greeks by Xerxes too, associated with ἀναιδείῃ in explanation of their behaviour, 210.1 below; the plural ἀβουλίῃσι will be the ruin (ἀπολέεται) of Greece according to Mnesiphilus in 8.57.2. The only other instance of the noun in H. is in 8.74.2, where it is attributed to an individual (Eurybiades); the underlying adjective ἄβουλος is not attested in prose before Thucydides (ἀβουλοτέρων 1.120.5), but the adverb is found twice in H.: see note on 9 β 1 above s.v. ἀβουλότατα.[1]

μάθοιεν (ἂν) **ὡς** '*they might (then) learn how*': on μανθάνειν ὡς cp. NEUBERGER-DONATH 1982b, pp. 259–60.

δ' ὦν: in origin the first of these particles is a semantically fairly neutral coordinator, though it has lost its syntactic function of coordinating—perhaps importing a lightly contrastive semantic value instead—in 5.50.2 χρεὸν . . . μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν . . ., λέγει δ' ὦν κτλ (in other words, the collocation has become purely adverbial).[2] The second particle basically calls attention to a transition from what is less, to what is more to the point. This accounts for a few typical uses of the collocation which overlap (instances exemplifying several uses are listed in italics below):

(1) after an excursion; thus 5.38 ends with Aristagoras of Miletus departing for Sparta, 39 to 48 speak of Sparta under Cleomenes, and at the beginning of 49 Aristagoras δ' ὦν arrives in Sparta while Cleomenes is king. A similar effect on a shorter term *2.49.1* & *50.1*, 5.119.2, 8.82.2, 9.45.2. Here the collocation, ὦν in particular, helps to resume a topic (in *2.50.1* both topic and comment are repeated, as in the instances under (3) below); with a continuity of topic the effect is one of summing up rather than resuming: 8.36.2 Δελφοί . . . οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ . . . πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δελφοί κτλ. On the other hand there may just as well be a shift to a topic not mentioned in so many words before but only brought to the surface now: 3.46.2

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[1] P. 63.

[2] Cf. 'apodotic δέ'. As C.J. Ruijgh points out, δέ probably derives from δή 'durch Vokalreduktion . . . infolge Funktions- und Lautschwächung' (FRISK s.v. δέ).

θύλακον . . . φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἱ δέ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθέειν δ' ὦν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι; also 9.46.3 & 79.2.

(2) The second component has specialized into marking a turn from what is subject to disagreement, to something presented as indisputable, as in 2.167.1 εἰ μέν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι . . . μεμαθήκασι δ' ὦν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, as well as here. This is much the most common use of the collocation in H.[1] It should be borne in mind that this is just a species of the genus from-less-to-more-relevant, i.e. that it is not the certainty itself which is intimated by the particle; this is suggested by 4.180.4, where what is not in doubt is just that H. has a certain opinion: οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὦν, and by 7.189.3, where the certain fact is that the Athenians hold to one version, but it comes out unmistakably in *2.50.1* τὰ οὐνόματα . . . ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε . . . διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι, and here, where we have an appeal rather than an affirmation.

(3) An extension common to the applications under (1) and (2) may be observed in 3.80.1 ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν, where, as in *2.49.1*, 4.5.1 & 187.3, the *same* information is first given, then characterized as controversial, and then again as indisputable by a δ' ὦν adding contrast and assertiveness: '*yet* spoken they *were*'.[2]

In the present context the speculative matter to which the call to make an effort is opposed, is not the Persian prowess (ὡς εἶμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολέμια) but the entire question discussed in 9 γ, whether the Greeks will offer resistance.

αὐτόματον '*of its own accord*'. None of the ten instances in H. applies to human beings; indeed most of them are found in contexts suggesting a connotation 'without human intervention', most clearly 4.74, of hemp which καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται. The word is always, in H. at least, used predicatively, from which it may be inferred that αὐτόματον . . . οὐδέν is not an independent clause lacking an ἐστι but, like ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα which balances it, to be supplemented by ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι to form a complete sentence.

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[1] Also 2.15.3 & 50.3 & 146.1 & 181.2, 3.115.2 & 116.3 & 122.1, 4.77.2 & 185.1 & 194, 5.9.3 & 10, 6.82.1, 7.35.2 & 134.1 & 153.3.

[2] Approximately English 'anyhow', Dutch 'hoe dan ook'.

ἀπὸ . . . γίνεσθαι '*all things tend to come to men from (their) trying*': Xerxes, here addressed by Mardonius, will show himself convinced by him when he in his turn expresses a similar insight to Mardonius' opponent Artabanus in 50.2 below: τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν . . . φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα.—The preposition ἀπό ('modally' Powell s.v. D) represents effort as the point of departure from which 'things', whether in the form of concrete possessions or of more immaterial attainments, begin to accrue to a person.

φιλέει '*is accustomed to, tends to*': cf. 10 ε below and see on 10 ζ below s.v. φιλέουσι.[1]

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[1] P. 122.

First speech of Artabanus (10)

10.1

Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο· σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἔλεγε τάδε·

1 ἐπαύετο **d** 4 πίσσυνος RSV

After Mardonius had thus far paved the way for Xerxes' view, he had finished. When the other Persians remained silent and did not dare to express a view opposed to the one lying before them, Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, being uncle to Xerxes, a circumstance which actually gave him the confidence to do so, gave the following speech:

H. characterizes Mardonius as ἐπιλεήνας Xerxes' proposal by the foregoing speech, i.e. 'having smoothed it' or '—ground it down', presumably so as to be swallowed or digested more easily.[1] When none of the other Persians dare oppose Xerxes and his cousin, his uncle Artabanus embarks on the longest single speech in H.

[1] The compound here alone; the simple verb λεαίνειν both of crushing dried fish to powder in a mortar with pestles, 1.200, and of what is done by Alexander to another λόγον of Mardonius, 8.142.4; also of levelling the fruits of the field to the ground 4.122.1, cf. λειότατον in 9 β 1 with note s.v. κατιόντες p. 64 above.

10 α 1

"Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω.'

1 μὲν om. E | ἀλλήλοισιν C[1]ERSV 2 ἑλέσθαι] ἔχεσθαι Madvig | δεῖ] δὴ B[1]R | χρῆσθαι aEP 4 ἐπεὰν ... διαγιγνώσκομεν om. RVS (hic post ἀμείνω addit ἐπεὰν δὲ συγκρίνηται, τότε ῥᾷστα γινώσκομεν)

'*My king, without opinions opposed to one another having been expressed, there is no way to select and adopt the better one, but one is obliged to act by the one that has been expressed, but once opinions have been expressed, there is (such a way)—just as we do not discern pure gold itself by itself, but when we rub it side by side with other gold, we discern that which is better.*'

Ὦ βασιλεῦ '*My king*' is more frequent than the vocative of the same noun without ὦ as it is found in 11 of the 57 places listed by Powell,[1] in 4 of these following an ὦ βασιλεῦ (4.97.5; 10 β 2 below as contrasting with α 3 & η 1, & 104.5 & 209.4), but preceding it in 5.106.3; the others are 7.101.3 & 102.1 (both from Demaratus) & 130.1, 8.100.4 (Mardonius) & 102.1 (Artemisia), and, following an ὦ δέσποτα, 9.111.4 (Masistes). Cf. on 9.1 above s.v. ὦ δέσποτα.[2]

λεχθεισέων μὲν . . . λεχθεισέων δέ: on the anaphora cf. Beck 1971, p. 18 and note 53.

τὴν ἀμείνω **αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι** '*to make a choice, choosing* the better one': for the pleonastic conjunction of participle with verb Stein compares 5.95.1 φεύγων ἐκφεύγει. There the preverb ἐκ- makes the second, finite verb a specification of the first; here the first verb is supplied with a specification by lexical means and all that the second verb can add is what is conveyed by the choice of an aorist: in the participle phrase it was the complement τὴν ἀμείνω which had focus function, but with the infinitive the act and the fact of

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[1] S.v. βασιλεύς 4. His reference to 10 γ 2 should be deleted.
[2] P. 50.

choosing itself is highlighted: 'to select that which is *best*, and (then) to *adopt* this'.[1]

χρᾶσθαι '*act by, keep to*': see on 16 α 1 & 18.3 below s.v. and cf. on 9 β 2 above s.v. χρηστῷ.[2]

ὥσπερ '*just as*': the contribution of -περ to this compound (34 instances in H.) ranges from

(1) highlighting an element which is common to two situations (as in 1.24.7 ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε 'Arion appeared *as* he was when he jumped out'; 2.121 δ 4 αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας 'reclined on the spot, *as* they were'; 3.86.2 ἐπιγενόμενα ... τῷ Δαρείῳ ... ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα 'happening to Dareius *as* if happening by some compact'; and below, 12.2 ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν 'proceed *as* you have decided to by day', to

(2) affirming explicitly the correspondence of a proposition implied in the main clause to some actual or even observable fact: e.g. 1.78.1 ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι 'it struck him as being a portent, *as* it was' (the proposition τέρας εἶναι); 2.56.2 ἱδρύσασθαι ... Διὸς ἱρὸν ὥσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ... ἱρὸν Διός 'erected a shrine for Zeus, *as* it was to be expected from the attendant of a shrine of Zeus'; 3.106.2 ἐσχάτη ... ἡ Ἰνδική ἐστι ὥσπερ ... εἴρηκα 'the farthest is India, *as* I have said'; *ibidem* ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἁρπαζόμενος '... and some (gold is) robbed, *as* I have indicated';[3] 3.108.2 τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφή 'divine providence, *as* it is to be expected, being sagacious'; 4.31.1 ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός 'less (snow) in summer than in winter, *as* is to be expected'; 5.53 εἰ ... ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα 'if the parasang is equivalent to thirty stadia, *as* this one is'; 5.58.2 ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήια κεκλῆσθαι 'called them by the name of Phoenician, *as* justice brought

[1] Note, however, that αἱρεόμενον and ἑλέσθαι belong to different roots (cf. λέγειν—εἰπεῖν, ἔρχεσθαι/ἰέναι—ἐλθεῖν). For the notion of 'focus function' cf. SICKING 1991 & 1996, pp. 74–82 and for the 'dynamic' infinitive in particular pp. 106–18; for a more conventional interpretation of this instance cf. HETTRICH 1976, p. 68.

[2] Pp. 225 & 285–6 & 69 respectively.

[3] Cf. 4.77.2, 6.15.1.

with it, given that the Phoenicians had introduced them'; 6.41.1 ὥσπερ ὁρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου '*as* he started from the town of Cardia, he sailed through the Melas gulf'; 8.15.2 ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν 'their entire struggle was over the Euripus, *as* that of Leonides' men was to guard the pass'; & 78 ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι 'they supposed them to be . . . *as* they had seen them by day'; 9.27.5 ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά 'if there is no other, *as* there are many others'; and here.

Cf. κατά περ in 16 α 1 below with note s.v.[1] and 3.106.1 'the extreme regions are best off, just *as* Greece has the finest climate'; contrast ὡς in 12.1 below, 'he had a vision, as (ὡς) the Persians tell it'.

αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ '*itself by itself*': on ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ cf. POWELL 1933, p. 221.

διαγινώσκομεν *bis* '*we discern*': the compound has two rather different uses, reflecting those of the simple verb; cf. on 8 δ 2 above s.v. γνώμην.[2] Here and in three other places in H. it refers to *knowing* one thing *from* another, *distinguishing* (1.134.1 and 4.74 between ὅμοια; 6.52.4 following a γνῶναι), as it does in the *Iliad* (H 424, Ψ 240, 470); in the one remaining instance in H. 6.138.3 εἰ . . . διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι . . . βοηθέειν the implied judgment is the adoption of one course to the exclusion of some other one, i.e. a *deciding*; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 709 with δίκην as object. For the present tense cf. KLOSE 1968, p. 145.—For the process applied to gold see STEIN and H.&W.

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[1] P. 222.
[2] P. 49.

10 α 2

'ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ ἠγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε.'

3 τοὺς om. C | καταστρέψασθαι AC¹D: κατεστρέψεσθαι RV 4 τε] δὲ **d**

'Now I also spoke to your father, my brother Darius, telling him not to march against Scythians, men who do not anywhere on earth inhabit a city. But he, expecting to conquer the Scythian herdsmen, did not listen to me and marched against them and came back (only) after losing many valiant men from among his army.'

δέ *'Now'* after the preliminary generalities on γνῶμαι of α 1 marks a new section with the ἐγώ and his γνώμη as its topic. Similarly 104.2–3 below: οὐκ ὢν οἰκός (. . .). ἐγὼ δέ (. . .). Cf. on 10 η 1 below with note s.v.[1]

ἠγόρευον *'I spoke, telling . . .'*: ἀγορεύειν, even though it is applied to addressing actual crowds in only seven of the 13 instances in H., is still the *sort* of λέγειν that one does in front of an ἀγορά or assembly. The exceptional construction with μή followed by an infinitive here, as in Ar. *Ran.* 628 (Dionysus), assimilates it to the compound ἀπαγορεύειν, with which this is the regular full construction (6 out of 9 instances in H.). In Attic the present idiom is formal, indeed formular: 'To whom it may concern (τινι) I proclaim . . .'; here a sound reason to avoid the compound is that a mere subject has no business to forbid his sovereign anything.

ἐλπίζων *'expecting'*, unlike ἔλπομαι (9 instances in H.), invariably (39 instances) in H. has reference to expectations and surmises which are subsequently disappointed.[2] Cf. on 17.1 below with note s.v.[3]

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[1] P. 130.

[2] Bakker 1991 (quoted by Sicking 1996, p. 54) 'suggests that the distribution of ἐλπίζων and ἐλπίσας reflects a *difference in point of view*: ἐλπίζων presenting an expectation/belief/thought from the point of view of the *dramatis persona*, ἐλπίσας doing so from the point of view of the narrator.' On *h.l.* (*ibidem* p. 58): '"The participial clause describes the thoughts of Darius while (or better: in) not listening to Artabanus, and (Σκύθας) τοὺς νομάδας his depreciating evaluation": Darius' turning a deaf ear to Artabanus' advice is inspired by his conviction that he will subdue the Scythians, "those wanderers who live in a cityless land".' Cf. also note 3 p. 82.

[3] P. 262.

τοὺς νομάδας '*the herdsmen, nomadic*', a common apposition with the Scythians (7 more instances), also applied to Libyans (4 x) and Aethiopians (1 x); at 4.19 in contradistinction to farming Scythians, but here simply as a summary of the preceding qualification of the Scythians as men who do no not inhabit any towns, and indirectly as a reminder of their character of ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν, 'impossible to fight and to engage with', as described in 4.46.2–3, and thereby as an anticipation of α 3 below, 'who are said to be the most valiant both on land and at sea'.

. . . τε οὐκ . . ., . . . τε . . . '*. . . (both) did not . . ., and (did) . . .*': STEIN's 'nicht—sondern', rather than rendering the coordination pattern, reflects an interpretation of the context, and his reference to 5.11.2 οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐών is less than illuminating: (*a*) the first τε may belong to οἷα and the participle, as POWELL takes it,[1] and (*b*) the two items coordinated are noun predicates sharing the participle ἐών following them, not independent clauses with nothing in common but the subject preceding them. Moreover (*c*) the second τε has been questioned: δέ BEKKER, adopted by HUDE but not by LEGRAND and ROSÉN. The reason for choosing the present construction rather than that of οὔτε . . ., . . . τε, for which cf. on 8 α 1 above s.v.,[2] is presumably that οὐ πείθεσθαι has virtually coalesced into a single verb, 'disbelieve' and 'disobey', cf. οὐ φάναι.[3]

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[1] S.v. οἷος 5.a.

[2] Pp. 13–14.

[3] For RUIJGH's interpretation of the collocation . . . τε . . . τε cf. note 2 on 5.3 s.v. . . . τε . . . τε p. 10. Cf. BAKKER 1991 (see note 2 p. 81): 'the tight syntactic coordination (notice the clause-combining use of τε) has a beautiful rhetorical point: the binding of Darius' experiential "here and now" to the ultimate disaster ("he would not listen to me and lost the war") effects a strong connection between the Darius example and Xerxes: the implication is that in being overambitious, underestimating the Greeks, Xerxes, too, has already lost the war.'

10 α 3

'σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.'

1 ἔτι om. **a**P

'Now you, my king, are going to march against men much better still than Scythians, who are said to be both on land and at sea the most valiant. It is meet that I show you what in these things is to be feared.'

ὦ βασιλεῦ: see note on 10 α 1 above s.v.[1]

μέλλεις '*are going to*': a future tense form of στρατεύεσθαι would have made Artabanus share this prospect; with μέλλεις he merely reports Xerxes' intentions, as in β 1 below φῄς . . . ἐλᾶν where he quotes the exact words in which Xerxes phrased these intentions in 8 β 1 with μέλλω.[2]

αὐτοῖσι '*these* (*things*)': as in 8 γ 1 above[3] and 10 η 2 below. The pronoun is a more neutral anaphoric pronoun than τούτοισι insofar as τούτοισι would be more apt to contrast the things referred to with other things.

δεινόν '*to be feared, fearsome*', more generally 'a fit object of *fear*', 'dangerous'. The word is chosen in reply to Mardonius' rhetorical question τί δείσαντες; of 9 α 1 above; recurring in β 2, γ 2, and η 2, it sets the theme of Artabanus' entire cautionary speech (Van Groningen), picked up by Xerxes in his reply . . . ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω at 11.4 below. Cf. also 9.2 with note s.v. above.[4]

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[1] P. 78.

[2] Cf. note s.v. μέλλω p. 26. According to Ruijgh 1985a, pp. 327–8 = 600–1 the use of the present infinitive is to be explained by the 'emploi "inceptif" du thème de présent' in the sense that ἔμελλε γράφειν is to be interpreted as 'il allait écrire immédiatement, il était sur le point d'écrire'. As a result, 'Assez souvent, μέλλειν + inf. prés. s'emploie lorsque l'action dont la réalisation immédiate était attendue, est empêchée *au dernier moment*.' Cf. also Ruijgh 1985b, p. 45 = 579 note 89. *H.l.* this would mean that Artabanus by using the present infinitive subtly suggests that it is not yet too late to abandon the whole project of an expedition against Greece.

[3] On which see p. 36 s.v.

[4] P. 53.

δίκαιον '*meet*': the Greek expression, like the archaic English one, seems to contain the notion of a share allotted to one; it does not differentiate between dues and rights. At 3.3 above ('free indirect speech' of Demaratus) it is associated with οἰκός. The impersonal construction found here is much more common (12 x) than the personal one (4 x)[1] found e.g. 9.27.6 . . . δίκαιοί εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν . . . . With the present situation cf. 235.1 below (Demaratus), Ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ . . . συμβουλεύεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον.

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[1] At 8.137.4 MSS. vary.

10 β 1

'ζεύξας φῂς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἤτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ [καὶ] κατὰ θάλασσαν ἑσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένεϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν.'

2 δὴ καὶ] δὴ Aldus | ἢ om. B[1] | καὶ om. C 3 καὶ κατ'] καὶ om. D 5 Ἀθηναίων C: om. SV

'You affirm that, having bridged the Hellespont, you will drive an army right through Europe into Hellas. Evidently also defeat has been known to occur too, either by land or by sea or even by both. For the men are said to be able-bodied and there is occasion to arrive at an assessment too—that is, if Athenians all by themselves destroyed so large an army, when it had come into their Attic land with Datis and Artaphrenes.'

φῄς *'you affirm'*: quite literally, for Artabanus borrows Xerxes' very words of 8 β 1 above, with the single substitution of ἐς *'into'* for ἐπί *'against'*: it is Xerxes' arrival at his destination, not his hostile intent, that Artabanus wishes to call in doubt.—On φῂς cf. 16 β 1 below s.v.[1]

καὶ δὴ καί *'evidently (it is) also (true that) . . . too'*: 'exceptionally introduces an hypothesis . . . (καὶ συνήνεικε together)' Denniston p. 257 under 'less normal' uses (4), referring to his treatment of καὶ δή under 2.v, p. 253.[2] This is the only instance of καὶ δὴ καί, not just among the 16[3] in H. but from any author, which has to be accommodated under this separate heading. This is not one of the contexts in which 'bei erregter Ermahnung oder Beweisführung hypothetische Fälle in Form kategorischer Sätze vorgetragen und das daraus Folgende, wie eine Erwiderung, meist asyndetisch nachgeschickt wird' (Stein on 1.11.4); even if one does accept this, it does not follow that the present use of the particle collocation should be motivated by this hypothetical purport rather than by the categorical phrasing. Rather, it is related to the following instances from H. in that it

[1] P. 236.

[2] C.J. Ruijgh points out that καὶ δὴ καί is post-Homeric, ἠδὲ καί being the Homeric collocation.

[3] At 1.69.1 MSS. vary (ἔπεμπε] καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν RSV).

basically stresses that what follows is *as true as* what precedes; it is still exceptional in that it introduces an objection, but we can imagine that Artabanus does not care to mark it as one. 'You state that you are going to march right into Greece; of course, defeat has been known to occur in one way or another—note that these men are supposed to be quite capable of defending themselves—what is more, they have given sufficient proof of that . . .'.[1]

Cf. 1.214.1 ταύτην τὴν μάχην ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γένεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and moreover*' πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον; 2.3.1 ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι . . . · καὶ δὴ καὶ '*no less*' ἐς Θήβας . . . ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι . . .; 2.102.5 τούτοισι . . . ἐνέγραψε (drew up inscriptions) . . . κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι . . . γενομένοισι καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and moreover*' αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε; 2.115.2 Proteus asked Alexander who he was and where he sailed from; ὁ δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὔνομα καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and so, likewise, moreover*' τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι; 4.62.2 τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι . . ., καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and moreover*' τοισίδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι; 4.189.2 the dress and the aegis are taken from the Libyans; but for some few modifications the entire outfit reproduces theirs. καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and moreover, and no less*' τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἥκει ἡ στολή. . . .

Between phrases within one clause, rather than between different clauses or sentences, the effect is that a statement applies to one item no less than to another: 2.146.1 . . . κατά περ Ἡρακλέης . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and so for, and moreover, and no less*' Διόνυσος . . . καὶ Πὰν . . . .

The use in contexts in which what follows *confirms* what precedes seems to be a specialization, increasingly common after H.: thus 5.20.4 all our further possessions are at your disposal, καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and equally*' the greatest of all do we bestow upon you; 5.83.2 they

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[1] KG I 203 cite this instance to illustrate the use of the indicative in cases where 'der Redende' something 'als etwas Gewisses oder Faktisches bezeichnen will, mag dasselbe sich nun objektiv so verhalten oder nur von dem Redenden so angenommen sein'. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL I 176–7: 'Der Aorist kann etwa auch von einer zukünftigen Handlung gebraucht werden.'; and, citing 8.102.2 (Artemisia in her advice to Xerxes): τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἢν καταστρέψηται τά φησι (Mardonius) θέλειν καί οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον, ὦ δέσποτα, γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο: 'es handelt sich also um etwas, das in einem künftigen Moment als Vergangenheit betrachtet und darum aoristisch bezeihnet wird.'. Along these lines C.J. Ruijgh (to whom we owe these references) proposes to read: 'And (in executing your plan) it may also happen that . . .'.

did them damage..., καὶ δὴ καὶ '*and also*' robbed them of their (cult-)images.[1]

συνήνεικε... ἑσσωθῆναι '*circumstances have led/have been known to lead to (being) defeat(ed)*': one might have expected either τινι with συνήνεικε '(it has occurred) to a person (to be defeated)' or τινα with ἑσσωθῆναι '(it has occurred that) a person (has been defeated)', but Artabanus focuses on the sole phenomenon of defeat.

ἤτοι... ἢ [καὶ] ... **ἢ καὶ...** '*either... or... or even*': the third possibility is more crass than the other two, which are on a par, therefore καί has a purpose with the third but not with the second member; actually a καί with the second member would detract from the force of that with the third member. As a corruption KAI is easy to account for, both by analogy with the other instance and by dittography before KATA.

ἄλκιμοι '*capable of defending themselves, able-bodied (men)*': the adjective and the underlying noun ἀλκή (combined in a *figura etymologica* (θηρία) ... ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα 3.110) especially apply to ability and exertions *to ward off* danger and the like, as here and at 2.102.4 ἀλκίμοισι ... καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι 'sticking to' [περὶ del. VALCKENAER] τῆς ἐλευθερίης and 5.49.3 '... please rescue the Ionians from slavery; you will manage easily, for the barbarians are not ἄλκιμοι and...'.

πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι '*it is possible to estimate*' also in 3.38.2, ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι in 3.15.3.—For the present πάρεστι cf. KLOSE 1968, pp. 155–6.

σταθμώσασθαι from a literal '*measuring*' or '*weighing*' has in H. come to denote any '*estimating*'. The clues (τεκμηρίοισι 3.38.2) used may be given in a dative, as in 2.2.5 (aorist participle), 3.15.3 & 38.2, 4.58 (aorist infinitive), and below, 11.2 (Xerxes) τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων[2] & 237.2 (aor. inf. & present ptc. respectively) or in a clause introduced by ὅτι, as in 8.130.3 (pr. ptc.), or by εἰ (... γε), as here; in 7.214.2 (aor. inf.) the dative τῷδε announces the ὅτι-clause, in 7.237.2 we have the most complex construction τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι... σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι.... In 9.37.2 (aor. ptc.) only the object of the estimate is given in a clause introduced by

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[1] Cf. 1.188.1, 2.154.2, 3.124.2, 6.74.2 & 138.2, 8.134.1.

[2] Where see note s.v. p. 162.

ὅκως, and in the remaining instance 2.150.3 (pr. ptc.) the verb is used 'absolutely', i.e. without any adjunct or complement.

(εἰ...) γε '*that is*, (*if*...)': the weak point about stating that εἴ γε is equivalent to *siquidem* (ABICHT, referring to 46.2 below) or *si quidem* (KG II 178: 'von den Attikern mit einer gewissen Urbanität auch von unzweifelhaften Aussagen gebraucht') is that plain εἰ and εἰ with a different particle too may introduce established facts: A 61 (δή 'as we see that they do') εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς.

Most accurately DENNISTON p. 146: 'When γε follows a conjunction ... it stresses the logical relationship expressed by the conjunction: thus, εἴ γε emphasizes the hypothetical nature of a statement: "I assert a truth subject to the validity of a hypothesis, but not independently of it."' The unpalatable truth is more tactfully clothed in a conditional sentence. The postponement of the particle extends this 'emphasis' to στρατιήν: '... you can assess their strength—that is, if they have destroyed an *army* of this size ...'.[1]

In θ 1 below ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ... στρατεύεσθαι 'anyway, *if* it is *necessary* by all means to have this expedition ...' this form seems to be chosen in order to insinuate that it is still possible to cancel this necessity—though with δή 'as it plainly is' Artabanus outwardly accepts Xerxes' decree.

The explanation is basically the same for an instance of εἴ γε which would never be taken to imply that the condition has been met, let alone to supply a cause, since it contains a future tense: 16 γ 2 εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι 'for *if* it *will* continue its visits, *then* I can agree that it is superhuman' (δή conveys that the thing is clear; some would say that 'logically' it belongs to the apodosis).

In 46.2 below, '... how brief is the entire span of man's life—that is, if out of all these men, as many as they are (εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων), not one will survive until a hundred years from now', the conditional formula is again functional, here in view of

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[1] WAKKER 1994, p. 309 objects to treating cases 'of γε immediately following εἰ/ἐάν (γε necessarily having the whole εἰ-clause in its scope)' and cases 'where γε is separated from εἰ/ἐάν' both as instances of 'the use of γε with the conditional subordinator.' For in the latter case 'γε modifies, in my opinion, only the word (group) it has in its scope.'

Xerxes' immediately preceding use of the word λογισάμενον '*computing, calculating*'.—Cf. also εἴ πέρ γε in 16 γ 1 below with note s.v.[1]

τοσαύτην . . . διέφθειραν '*destroyed . . . so large*': 'strong hyperbole' STEIN, referring to 6.117.1, where H. states the numbers of the dead on both sides. H. seems to make Artabanus subscribe to a notion, cherished by the Athenians, as though the entire main force of the Persians was destroyed at Marathon. While this is unlikely to be the official Persian reading, it is convenient for the present argument. Similarly,

μοῦνοι '*alone*' disregards Plataean assistance and thereby again betrays an Athenian perspective (VAN GRONINGEN).

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[1] P. 248.

10 β 2

'οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· ἀλλ' ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δή, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν.'

1 ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἐχώρησε(ν) (ἐχώρησαν S) **d**P[1]

'Now then, it has not gone well for them in both ways; yet if they attack the ships and after having won in a naval battle sail to the Hellespont and then break up the bridge, this, King, obviously becomes a thing to be feared.'

οὐκ ὦν '*Now then*': (it has) *not*...': the use of this combination, unlike that of καὶ δὴ καί (for which see note on β 1 above s.v.),[1] with an indicative for offering a supposition would appear to be well attested: Stein, who accentuates οὔκων, refers to 1.206.2 (future) & 209.5 (present), 4.118.2 (fut. followed by μέν ... δέ) and 5.92 η 5 (fut. foll. by asyndeton) as well as to the present instance.[2]

In 4.118.2 and 5.92 η 5 Hude writes a question mark, a possibility which appears to offer itself at least for the remaining future tense instance at 1.206.2. Stein on 1.11.4, and Powell s.v. οὐ V.6 c but for the two questions (V.6 a), call this and some other uses *adversative* (at least four instances explicitly so in both authorities): '*non oder nec tamen, nec vero*', 'not however' respectively. Denniston, following Hermann, says of οὔκουν and οὐκοῦν in statements and in questions that (p. 430) 'the punctuation and accentuation of our MSS. are not to be trusted over-implicitly, and frequent changes should probably be made';[3] with reference to H. he limits himself

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[1] Pp. 85–6.

[2] In his note on 1.11.4 (imperfect, expanded by ἀλλ', followed by asyndeton) on the subject of parataxis (sometimes with asyndeton), for which he also refers to 1.24.3 & 59.3 (both present infinitive), 4.11.3 (pr. inf.), and 6.62.1 [*read* 6.52.3 (pr. inf.)]: 1.11.4 Gyges begged her not to oblige him to such a choice. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε ἀλλ' faced with the necessity ... his choice was ...; 1.24.3 Arion bade the Corinthians take his money but spare his life. οὐκ ὦν δὴ πείθειν ... ἀλλά they told him to ...; 1.59.3 Chilon advised Hippocrates not to raise any son. οὐκ ὦν ... πείθεσθαι θέλειν: after that this Peisistratus was born; 4.11.3 ... that ... the Cimmerians were divided: the people wanted this and the princes that. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι neither the people the princes nor the princes the people; 6.52.3 the wife of Aristodemus gave birth to twins and after having seen the twins Aristodemus died; the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the eldest king. οὐκ ὦν δή σφεας ἔχειν which one to choose because they were much alike.

[3] Cf. also Sicking 1997, pp. 158–64.

to six instances illustrating that (p. 440) 'it is difficult to find any appreciable distinction in meaning accompanying the difference in orthography' (between οὐκ οὖν found written separately and οὔκουν): two of these (4.118.2 & 5.79.2, pr.) are from POWELL's questions (V.6 a), one (7.206.2) from his 'inferential' (V.6 b) and two (1.59.3 & 206.2) from his 'adversative' class (V.6 c), and one (1.209.5) is listed by POWELL not under any subdivision of (V.6) οὐκ ὦν but under (III.1), οὐ preceding other negatives.

A fresh look at the Herodotean material (29 x) seems in order. In the present connexion what concerns us primarily is the reality of the use of οὐκ ὦν for a supposition. The relevant instances are: 1.206.2 (Tomyris to Cyrus:) 'You reign over what is yours and allow me to rule over mine. οὐκ ὦν ἐθελήσεις take my advice; σὺ δὲ ... μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ... ἄφες ...'—2nd person future indicative; continued with imperative tacked on with δέ; compatible with a question mark; 1.209.5 (Cyrus to Hystaspes:) 'Your son is scheming against me; I saw him in my dream, winged, hovering over Europe and Asia. οὐκ ὦν ἔστι μηχανὴ ... οὐδεμία that he is not scheming against me. σὺ τοίνυν haste back to Persia and have him ready for questioning'—3rd p. present ind.; continued with imp. tacked on with τοίνυν; question impossible; 4.118.2 (Scythian messengers to meeting of kings:) 'Don't be idle; let's tackle him head-on. οὐκ ὦν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; (then) we shall ..., for what can become of us if you ...? and you will ...'—2nd p. fut. ind.; question; countered with fut. ind.; note additional rhetorical question in first member of continuation; 5.92 η 5 (Socles to Spartans:) 'We call on you not to establish tyrannies. οὐκ ὦν παύσεσθε but will try to reinstate Hippias? Know that the Corinthians at least do not side with you'—2nd p. fut. ind.; question; countered with imp. ('know that', i.e. virtually with a statement); *h.l.* 'They are able-bodied men, as we have experienced. οὐκ ὦν in both ways have they prospered<?> ἀλλ' if they defeat your armada, then you're in trouble'—aorist ind.; continued with prospective subjunctive (aor.) protasis and pr. ind. apodosis; incompatible with question mark.[1]

[1] DENNISTON's two remaining instances (p. 440) do not belong here: 5.79.2 when the Thebans heard them say they should ask their nearest they said: 'Οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι the inhabitants of Tanagra &c.? καὶ οὗτοί γε already help us; why ask them?' and 7.206.2 they sent Leonidas with his men off first, in order that .... οὐκ ὦν δοκέοντες ... they sent these forerunners, where οὐ belongs to δοκέοντες.

It is clear that even among these most central instances in STEIN's uncharacteristically discursive note the differences are considerable. 1.209.5, the only one which cannot possibly be read as a question, is an entirely unexceptional use of ὦν to come back to the main issue: 'I mention this dream, because the point is . . .'; there is nothing here which is peculiar to direct, let alone to agitated speech. 4.118.2 and 5.92 η 5 are indeed most naturally interpreted as questions; the difference with any ordinary rhetorical questions is that the speaker does not ask these questions in order to insinuate or openly supply the answer, but in order to draw out consequences of a presupposed negative answer. 1.206.2 is exactly parallel with 5.92 η 5 especially.

The odd man out is precisely 7.10 β 2, for the sole reason that, referring to a future contingency by means of an augmented tense form, it could never be understood as a genuine inquiry; in other words, the rhetorical pretence of a question is dropped, and here alone it becomes *indispensable* for a correct interpretation, as opposed to merely possible, that we should supply from our own resources an awareness of the fact, which is not indicated by linguistic means, that we are only dealing with an assumption. This is made easier not by supposing that καὶ δὴ καί in β 1 above conveyed a similar and equally implicit proposal to hypothesize, for this merely shifts the problem to a point where there is nothing in the preceding context to prepare for it, but by supposing that the preceding section β 1 has opened up a fund of possibilities: 'you state A, at the same time B *has occurred*'—aorist of what belongs to experience and may be repeated—'in one of the forms *a*, *b*, or (*a* + *b*); your adversaries are *said to be*' (of such and such a *disposition*), 'and we can make an *estimate*—actually we have had an *experience*'. The particle subsequently extracts from this background of unwelcome possibilities the supposition, now made comparatively palatable, which will next occupy us. There is nothing adversative about the combination that is not in the negation as such.[1]—Cf. on 11.3 & 15.2 below s.v.[2]

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[1] On the 'paratactic' structure of this passage cf. BROUWER 1975, p. 41, who refers to KG II 233: 'Auch der Fall wird in der Regel als eine rhetorische Parataxe anzusehen sein, wenn statt eines hypothetischen Nebensatzes mit εἰ ein Hauptsatz gebraucht wird.'

[2] Pp. 163–6 & 208 respectively.

ἀμφοτέρῃ '*along—, in both ways*' occurs just once more in H. at 1.75.5 on a river which, once split, can be crossed in both branches.

ἐχώρησε 'it has gone *well*', by what seems to be a common extension of the use of verbs meaning 'to go' in several languages. In H. a transition to this special use, with an adverbial qualification of the way things are going (and in a context of words for locomotion), may be observed at 3.39.3 ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως 'wherever (Polycrates) set out to march, all things went off fortunately for him'. 5.49.3 εὐπετέως . . . ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἷά τε χωρέειν ἐστί and 8.68 β 1 εὐπετέως τοι . . . χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας are slightly less explicit, i.e. require from the verb a more specific connotation; and from 3.42.1 χωρήσαντός οἱ τούτου and 5.89.2 σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται the present instance differs mainly in the absence of an expressed grammatical subject, recalling the comparable indefiniteness of συνήνεικε . . . ἑσσωθῆναι in β 1 above, where see note s.v.[1]

ἀλλ' '*yet*' conveys that the truth of what follows is unaffected by what precedes. They may not have been successful on all fronts; *nonetheless*, (even) a naval victory could lead you into serious trouble.—Cf. note on 5.2 above s.v.[2]

ἐμβάλωσι, literally '*throw in, on*', is intransitive 'to throw *oneself* upon', '*attack, ram*' in 11 of its 21 occurrences in H.;[3] in 6.84.2 ἐς τὴν χώρην,[4] elsewhere with dative as here: 4.125.4 σφι, in the eight remaining instances, all found in 8.84–92, with a ship as object either mentioned or to be supplied from what precedes.

ἢν . . ., τοῦτο . . . γίνεται δεινόν '*if . . ., this becomes a danger*': 157.2 ἢν . . ., τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ . . . is similar, yet different in that τοῦτο does not point backwards to the course of events supposed by ἤν, but forwards to the possibility envisaged with μή. This may be one explanation for the occurrence there of so-called apodotic δέ.

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[1] P. 87.
[2] P. 4.
[3] POWELL's twelfth instance s.v. II is a variant of **a**P in 9.13.2 which he himself rejects in favour of (ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν) ἐσβαλεῖν.
[4] *V.l.* ἐκβαλεῖν C and again ἐσβαλεῖν Laur. lxx.6.

λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν '*break up the bridge*', as Themistocles will actually propose in 8.108.2 λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας.[1]

δή both '*obviously*' and '*look*': the particle generally presents the information as though it were evident (see note on 8 β 1 s.v.);[2] in the context this is motivated by the experience presently to be recounted. At the same time the purport here, next to the vocative, is not just 'as you *can see*' but equally 'you *must mark*'.

βασιλεῦ '*King*': for the vocative of this title used with and without ὦ cf. on α 1 above s.v. ὦ βασιλεῦ.[3]

δεινόν '*to be feared, dangerous*': cf. on α 3 above s.v.[4]

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[1] On the informational structure of the ἤν-clause cf. Sicking 1996, p. 34: 'The A[orist]S[tem] forms ἐμβάλωσι, νικήσαντες and λύσωσι present the crucial stages of the scenario Artabanus is presenting to Xerxes. πλέωσι is to be read in conjunction with λύσωσι: it just serves to set the scene for what would be the final blow, whereas πλεύσωσι would have presented the sailing as something that is important in its own right. From a viewpoint of time relationship, καὶ ἔπειτα is a clear indication that both the Greek victory and the sailing to the Hellespont are supposed to be "completed" at the moment the Greeks would be ready to destroy the bridge.' Contrast Hettrich 1976, p. 66.

[2] P. 28.

[3] P. 78.

[4] P. 83.

10 γ 1

'ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκηίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ ⟨ὁ⟩ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου.'

1 οἰκηίῃ om. SV 2 ὁ add. Bekker 3 τὸν om. C 4 ἐγίνοντο **d** 5 ἐπιτέτραπτο **a**

'Now I do not infer these things of my own accord by any private sagacity, no, but what an experience once nearly overtook us, when your father, having joined the Thracian Bosporus and bridged the river Danube, crossed over against the Scythians. At that time the Scythians did everything they could requesting the Ionians to whom had been entrusted the guarding of the bridges of the Danube to break up the passage.'

ἐγὼ . . . πάθος '*I . . . experience*': the syntax is not fully adjusted to the organization of topic and comment, which is roughly equivalent to '(*topic*: ἐγὼ δὲ . . . ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι) as for my conjecturing this, it is (*comment*: *οὐδεμίῃ* σοφίῃ οἰκηίῃ αὐτός . . . *ἀλλ(ά)* κτλ) *not* based on any understanding peculiar to me, *but* on something which nearly overtook all of us'; the rupture in the construction, with οἷον . . . πάθος 'hanging in the air' syntactically, is 'iconic': cf. below on οἰκηίῃ αὐτός.

ἐγὼ . . . συμβάλλομαι '*I infer*': like Mardonius at 9 α 2 in ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτός κτλ, Artabanus specifies with what authority he offers his advice.

ἐγὼ δέ '*Now I*': the structure of Artabanus' speech so far is '(α 1) My king . . . (α 2) I . . . (α 3) You . . . (*h.l.*) I . . .', with (α 1 & 2) furnishing general preliminaries and historical background and (α 3 & onwards) stating the present case. This articulation accounts for the use of the pronoun, and for its relatively conspicuous place at the beginning of the sentence.

σοφίῃ '*sagacity, wits*': the account in Powell s.v. of the use of the noun (20 x) in H. as ranging from 'wisdom' to 'cunning, trickery' might seem to be confirmed by the use of derivatives of σοφός associated with it in various contexts, in particular by (1) the application at 3.85.1–2 of σόφισμα (3 x in H.) with the same reference as σοφίη

to the use of a φάρμακον,[1] and by (2) that of σοφιστής to such a man as Solon at 1.29.1, to whom σοφίη is attributed at 30.2 according to Croesus; yet none of the instances in H. requires the ascription to him of a full-blown concept of wisdom with implications on the moral and existential as well as on the intellectual planes such as it has been developed in later ancient philosophy; the common factor is an ingenuity which, though admirable in itself, may occasionally deviate into sharp practice. Thus at 2.172.2 it is opposed to ἀγνωμοσύνη,[2] at 4.46.1 it is associated with λόγιον and opposed to ἀμαθέστατα, at 1.68.1 it is associated with luck in ἀνεῦρε . . . καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ, and at 4.76.2 it is acquired by seeing something of the world: ('Ανάχαρσις) γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλήν. At 7.102.1 in another conversation Xerxes is told by Demaratus that τῇ 'Ελλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύντροφός ἐστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπό τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ, and at 1.197 it is an attribute of various Babylonian νόμοι. At 7.23.3 it is manifested ἐν . . . ἔργοισι (here a channel), but at 4.77.1 ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην is opposed to σωφρόνως δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον, foreshadowing another philosophical exercise of the faculty.

(σοφίῃ) **οἰκηίῃ αὐτός** '*of my own . . .* (*of*) *myself*': the αὐτός does not add to the information but, adding relief to οἰκηίῃ, perfects the opposition, eloquently underlined by formal anacoluthon, between what belongs to a 'subjective' Mardonius and what belongs to the realm of objective, or at least 'inter-subjective' (ἡμέας), experience (πάθος). None of the parallels in STEIN *ad* 3.81 from the *Odyssey*, Soph., Eur., Thuc., and Xen. as well as from H. precisely feature both words at once; at 5.5, which he does not quote, σφάζεται . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηιοτάτου ἑωυτῆς at least comes very near in both form and sense: it would not be easy to specify the effective difference between 'not of my own accord by some private sagacity', which we have here, and *(οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ) οἰκηίῃ ἐμαυτοῦ 'not by any private sagacity of my own'.[3] Cf. next note.

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[1] In the instructions given by Darius to his ἱπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός: his hypothesis is εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, of which his own recapitulation after Oibares' reply τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα is εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα.

[2] For which see pp. 63–4 on 9 β 1 above.

[3] In terms of pragmatics, however, it serves to mirror Xerxes' οὔτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι in 8 α 1 above.

οἰκηίη 'of one's *house*' or 'at one's *home*', by extension '(of) one's *own*', '*proper, familiar* (to), *belonging* to': with the exception of the use for those near of kin (11 x in H., out of 28 in all; sometimes substantively, e.g. in the superlative 5.5 σφάζεται . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηιοτάτου ἑωυτῆς) there is no suggestion in H. of this being a natural or inherent quality of or relation between particular things, but it is possible to distinguish between (1) what is οἰκήιον to the one as opposed to what is so to the other, e.g. πάθεα . . . τὰ οἰκήια, i.e. of the Spartans, opposed to τὰ Ἰώνων by Cyrus at 1.153.1, and οἰκήια . . . κακά opposed to τὸ τοῦ ἑταίρου πένθος by Psammenitus at 3.14.10 and to τὰ τῶν πέλας κακά by H. as narrator at 7.152.2,[1] and (2) what is οἰκήιον to no matter whom as opposed to what belongs to the community, e.g. war craft and crew at 5.47.1 οἰκηίῃ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ οἰκηίῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ and 8.17 (Cleinias) δαπάνην οἰκηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηί, or is in some other relation of dependence, e.g. warriors at 3.45.3 τοξόται οἰκήιοι *opp.* ἐπίκουροι μισθωτοί. Other applications are to a war 'at home': 5.23.3 and more explicitly 7.235.3 παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκηίου, and to votive offerings from one's own estate as opposed to an enemy's 1.92.2; another substantive use besides that for relatives is 1.64.3 (Ἀθηναίων δὲ . . .) οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν . . . ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίης sc. country or perhaps city.[2] At 3.81.2, finally, the δῆμος according to Megabyzus οὔτ' ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν [οὐδ'] οἰκήιον: they lack the virtues and graces instilled by a good upbringing.

συμβάλλομαι '*infer*': 50, or just over half of the 97 instances of some form of συμβάλλειν in H., come under POWELL's heading s.v. '1. *set on* to fight (. . .) oftener intrans. *give battle*'; the remaining nine active or passive ones come under '2. *compare*', e.g. 2.10.1 σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι, presumably from a 'throwing into the balance': the most graphic instance is 3.95.1 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται . . . καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα. With the middle voice we seem to have a 'putting together' of one thing with other things either (1) in contribution or (2) specialized and extended to a more abstract combining or 'putting two and two

[1] Cf. 1.45.2 Κροῖσος . . . τὸν . . . Ἄδρηστον κατοικτίρει καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τοσούτῳ and 6.21.2 on Phrynichus reminding the Athenians of their οἰκήια κακά.

[2] At 2.37.4 οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται is an ad hoc, not an idiomatic substantive use.

together';[1] the continuity between the two comes out in 4.101.3 ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληταί μοι, and the range of (3) is from counting on one's fingers, via a heuristic procedure at 4.15.1 involving both computation and, apparently, inquiries τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον,[2] an investigation into the geography of history at 4.87.2 ὁ χῶρος ... ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμβαλλομένῳ μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ and various other calculations, to such conjectural inference[3] as at 1.68.3–5 ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· (...) εὕρισκε ἐόντας (...) κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων ὡς (...). συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα κτλ, at 2.112.2 of the sanctuary of ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη being that of Helen, at 3.68.2 ὑπώπτευσε τὸν μάγον ὡς οὐκ εἴη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε (...) καὶ ὅτι (...). ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν κτλ, or as we have here, and widens to include a 'figuring out' in the sense of a general understanding: compare ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐὸν ὅτι παρεσκευάζοντο κτλ at 7.209.1 with 7.239.4 (κεινὸν τὸ δέλτιον ...) ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι and with the even more unspecified οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα at 4.111.1.—On συμβάλλομαι in H. cf. Hohti 1977, p. 12.

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[1] The three occurrences of the verb in 4.50.1 τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἴστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἓν πρὸς ἓν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθεϊ ἀποκρατέει· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς πλῆθός οἱ συμβάλλεται raise the question to what extent there was any continuity or association between the active and middle uses in the linguistic competence of a native speaker: the first of these as it is followed by a direct object turns out to be a transitive middle voice 'contributing their own waters', but perhaps a reader might passingly consider the interpretation 'when these and many others are added to each other (as to their water)', just as the last of them might momentarily be mistaken for a passive 'is added to its volume'. A similarly question is suggested by 2.33.2 ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος which up to the participle follows the syntactic pattern of active συμβάλλειν 'compare'.

[2] The collocation of συμβαλλόμενον εὑρίσκειν also at 7.184.1 & 187.2 and, of motives, 7.24, 8.30.1.

[3] Which may turn out to be mistaken, as at 6.107.2, to which compare 108.1, or may be expressly stated to be mistaken, as at 7.143.1 οὗτος ὡνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι.

οἷον . . . πάθος '*what an experience*': the full story of this narrow escape is in 4.136.3–137.

οἷον '*what a(n)*': such 'elucidations' as STEIN's 'konstr. ἀλλὰ τῷ πάθει (συμβάλλομαι) οἷον' or VAN GRONINGEN's 'οἷον: ὅτι τοιόνδε' are nothing more than examples of how some Greek speaker might have conveyed what for practical purposes amounts to the same information while adhering more closely to the rules of school grammar; they are misleading if taken as representing an underlying structure somehow present to the mind or inherent in the competence of H. as a user of language, or as suggesting any more general equivalence of or interchangeability between expressions of the form used by H. and of that made up by commentators. To understand the present instance of formal anacoluthon it is more helpful to recall what was referred to above[1] as the organization of topic and comment, and also to point out that an identical sentence could have been construed paratactically, with οἷον exclamatory: 'I do not make this inference by my own private wits—no: what an experience once barely escaped overtaking us . . .!': cf. 8 β 3 above with note s.v. [τά].[2] It is true that what we have here is less staccato: ἀλλά from changing the subject has come to mark an opposition, here of public πάθος to private σοφίη.

ὀλίγου ἐδέησε '*had almost*': the idiom, which like its opposite πολλοῦ δεῖ '*it is far from being the case that*' is common in Attic, is found only here in H., though cf. 4.43.4 on Sataspes' attempt to circumnavigate Africa τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε. In sense it is most nearly related to the use in numerals (10 x in H.), e.g. 4.90.1 πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, and to that in 3.155.4 ἢν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ '*if what is yours will not fail*'; formally it resembles instances of impersonal δεῖ (altogether 8 x in H.), as 3.127.2 ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δεῖ, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν, 9.98.2 τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε. The aorist, rare in this type of expression, is explained by the reference to the one 'nick of time' at which the πάθος nearly κατέλαβε us; cf. Thuc. 2.77.5 τοῦτο . . . τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς . . . ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι and, in an aorist narration, Lys. 12.17 (Polemarchus) οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι.

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[1] P. 95 s.v. ἐγὼ . . . πάθος.

[2] Pp. 33–4. Cf. Schweighäuser *Sed qualis tandem fuit illa calamitas, quae parum abfuit ut nos adfligeret, quum . . .!*

καταλαβεῖν '*overtake*', also 9 β 2 above with note,[1] and 18.3 below: given that the simple verb in its most graphic instances means 'to grasp', the contribution of the preverb seems to consist of varying proportions of (1) 'and hold *down*', as in that majority of instances listed as '*overtake* fugitives', 'of weather, *overtake*', 'seize', and 'metaph. of calamities etc., *befall*' (by POWELL s.v. 1., 3., 6., & 2. respectively, the distinctions between which may be reduced to those between human and inanimate subjects and between ditto objects), but also e.g. 3.36.1 ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν and in 9 β 2 above, (2) helping to make the verb apply figuratively to immaterial objects or to objects grasped in a non-literal sense with which the simple verb would not make transparent sense, as at 2.65.2 ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον, cf. 3.75.2, and 3.52.6 Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε ('*coax*' POWELL s.v. 6.) with perhaps an element of (3) focusing on the moment of its effectuation, as in 3.10.2 Ἄμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης, cf. 7.146.2 & 3, 8.37.3 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων & 114.1 κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, and most clearly at 7.230 λέγουσι ... οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὸν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

πάθος 'thing one *undergoes*' in H. always (28 x) refers to undesirable and disagreeable experiences, whether collective or individual. The Christian 'passion' is prefigured in τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ ... (i.e. τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐξαγορεύειν τοὔνομα 2.170.1) ποιεῦσι τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι at 2.171.1 and in οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον at 5.67.5.

πατὴρ ⟨ὁ⟩ σὸς ζεύξας '*your father, having joined*': through β 1 ζεύξας φῄς[2] Artabanus takes up Xerxes' own association of his project with that of Darius in 8 above, esp. β 1 μέλλω ζεύξας ... πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.

πατὴρ ⟨ὁ⟩ σὸς '*your father*': the addition of the article by BEKKER is confirmed[3] by the resulting conformity with πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν in 8 β

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[1] P. 67.
[2] See 10 β 1 note s.v. φῄς p. 85.
[3] *Pace* POWELL 1938, p. 213. ROSÉN prints πατὴρ σός.

1 & 2 above; contrast, with the proper name in apposition, πατήρ τε ⟨ὁ D.H.⟩ ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος in 8 α 1 with note.[1]

ζεύξας . . . γεφυρώσας '*having joined* (sc. *the banks of*) . . . *having bridged*': with reference to throwing bridges over water (26 out of 30 instances in H.; the remainder concern animals yoked (3 x) and rowing benches) ζευγνύναι may take either the bridge (11 x) or the water (15 x) as its direct object.[2] In the latter case its distribution overlaps with that of γεφυροῦν (8 x) and the two may alternate in one context, as here and in 7.33–4, where the exceptional use of ἐγεφύρουν without an explicit object is facilitated by the very explicit τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην which precedes.[3] The use of two near-synonyms in a row makes for amplification, cf. γεφυρέων with note s.v. below.

τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο: asyndeton with demonstratives used anaphorically is 'sehr häufig' (KG II 343–4); in H. with τότε cf. 7.144.1, 9.26.3 & (τότε καί) 110.2,[4] all of which may be accommodated under the heading in KG 'wo keine Folgerung, sondern bloss eine Fortsetzung der Rede ausgedrückt wird, . . .'; their addition '. . . also δέ stehen könnte' is more doubtful, since this particle would suggest a new topic rather than a specification of the πάθος which has so far only been located in time. Van Groningen's inference that τότε here and in the next sentence bears great emphasis is more applicable to that sentence, where, however, it should rest on καί . . . γε,[5] than it is here.

παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο, literally 'assumed all kind of shapes', i.e. 'did everything they could', as at 9.109.3 Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι and, with a syntactically different complement, 3.124.2 ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίη ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα. The idiom is illuminated by the phrases which apply literally at ρ 486 καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας and, of the

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[1] P. 18 above s.v. πατήρ τε ἐμός.

[2] Cf. ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον in 8 β 1 above with note s.v. pp. 26–7.

[3] The other syntactically exceptional use of γεφυροῦν is in an oracle at 8.77.1 in which it has as its *two* objects the coasts joined. At 2.107.2 the obstacle passed is not water but a fire.

[4] At 8.77.2 an instance is found in the oracle cited in the preceding note.

[5] See below s.v. p. 103.

old man of the sea (δ 401 γέρων ἅλιος), δ 417 (cf. 456–[8]) πάντα δὲ γινόμενος πειρήσεται ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν | ἑρπετὰ γίνονται καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ.

πόρον '*way*' to get from one point to another, in H. always physically[1] except in 3.156.2 οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἁλώσιος (to an *end*) and 2.2.2 οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν οἳ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων (to the answer to a question).

γεφυρέων '*bridge*': the reference in the plural to what appears to be a single structure (mentioned in 4.98.2 &—most accurately—118.1 & 133.2, where the loyalty of the Ionians is tried, & 136.2) has not been explained. With the two participles ζεύξας and γεφυρώσας[2] preceding it may just add to the importance of Darius' operations, or conceivably the bridge is regarded as consisting essentially of two gates of entry to the other side,[3] or of a number of (floating and therefore) distinct components.

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[1] Either by water (5 x) or, most often, on foot and by a bridge: 11 out of 19 instances (if we count 7.26.1, where **d** have πόρον but the other MSS. πόνον).

[2] Cf. note s.vv. above p. 101.

[3] The very presence of watches brings to mind that the same bridge was to be used for returning; at the same time one might wonder whether there is a suggestion that Ionian watches were posted at either end, or along the bridge.

10 γ 2

'καὶ τότε γε Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι.'

1 γε om. **d** | εἰ ante Ἱστιαῖος **a** | ἐπέπετο C 2 ἠναντιώθη **a** | διείργαστο **d** 4 γενέσθαι **d**P

'*Also, if at that moment Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus had sided with the opinion of the other tyrants and had not put up opposition, the affairs of the Persians had been done away with. At the same time it surely is terrible even so much as to hear in speech of all the affairs of the King having depended on one man.*'

καὶ (τότε) **γε** (. . . εἰ) '*also*, (if at) *that* (moment), *I add that*, (if at) *that* (moment)': καί makes a distinct addition of the decisive consideration, γε expressly limits the scope of the claim to the one decisive moment (τότε);[1] the effect of the restriction, as often, is to enhance the impact of the claim. An alternative interpretation '*at that moment too*' would make Artabanus imply that the empire is tottering now, which is more blunt than the tactfully euphemistic expressions he is accustomed to using, e.g. in β 2 above τοῦτο . . . γίνεται δεινόν,[2] and which is at odds with the implication of the first sentence of δ 1 below μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, that Xerxes will be in no danger unless he chooses to.

Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ '*if Histiaeus* &c.': the position of the proper name with its predicative adjunct in front of the conjunction εἰ, when it is not the subject of the subsequent *main* clause, singles out the topic of the sentence: at this juncture it was Histiaeus who held τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα in his hands.[3] The change of subject between the two finite verbs ἠναντιώθη διέργαστο marks an incision which adds to the dramatic effect of the main clause.

ἐπέσπετο '*had sided with*': see on δ 2 below s.v. ἐπίσποιτο.[4]

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[1] Cf. on γε in 9 β 1 above pp. 62–3.
[2] Cf. below 16 γ 2 τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται with notes s.v. εἰ and δέ pp. 251–2.
[3] ROSÉN follows **a** in reading καὶ τότε γε, εἰ Ἱστιαῖος κτλ.
[4] Pp. 112–13.

διέργαστο (ἄν) '*had been done away with*': the three or four other instances of the verb in H. have reference to killing (1.213 ἑωυτόν, 5.20.5 αὐτούς (i.e. Persians, by Macedonians disguised as women) & 92 γ 3 παιδίον; *syn.* ἀποκτεῖναι).[1] The verb form could belong to the middle voice, but the pluperfect tense leaves little doubt that τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα is the subject and the verb passive.

πρήγματα (*bis*) '*doings, enterprises, affairs, matters, business*', a very general concept, the plural expression of which has *in politicis* acquired more than one special application.

(1) At 3.64.4 ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι (. . .) οἱ (Cambyses) ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα 'affairs', in other words decisive action, is centred at a particular place and, by extension, at e.g. 2.120.4 (Ἀλέξανδρον . . .) ἐπ'[2] ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι it is considered as resting with some authority 'in power' within a state or nation; it turns out to be a commodity liable to change hands, most explicitly at 6.83.1 οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, cf. 6.39.1 καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα, 3.80.2 Ὀτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα.[3]

(2) At 7.145.2 κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων and τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι[4] illustrate the gradual transition to the noun's referring to the impact made on, or force represented to, the world by such a political unit as a whole, identified in a genitive adjunct or possessive adjective, as it does at its first occurrence here and at 9 γ above, where we may translate 'power'; the second of the two occurrences here is especially interesting in that it combines a genitive adjunct βασιλέος with a prepositional phrase of the form ἐπί + dative found at 2.120.4 above to specify a particularly complex unbalance of power. Other instances seem to envisage a slightly wider 'plight, condition' of these societies, recalling the use of the verb in such expressions as εὖ and κακῶς πράττειν, e.g. 3.57.2 χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων

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[1] At 7.224.1 several MSS. have some form of κατεργάζεσθαι, which is a much more common word, though not in the sense here required of either verb.

[2] ὑπ' **d**, which would be without parallel; for ἐπί see below.

[3] To these and other instances listed by POWELL under '5. (. . .) *the government, state*' add, from his heading '4. (. . .) *the cause, power of*' 3.143.2 ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχῃ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα and 6.11.2 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα . . . ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι.

[4] Where the relevant use of the underlying verb is found in the intervening context in the phrase εἰ . . . τὠυτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες.

πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον & 146.2 ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα by leading their ἐπικούρους (145.3) on to a hopeless battle.

(3) At 18.2 below this has developed into a reference to individual great 'powers' or, to use an anachronistic expression, 'empires', of which Artabanus has seen a number πεσόντα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων 'brought down by lesser ones'.[1]

(4) The use of πρήγματα νεώτερα for revolt (at 5.19.2 & 106.1, 6.2.2 & 74.1) may be understood as a development of (1) above with the overtones of πρήγματα as 'difficulties' strengthened by those of νέος as 'gratuitously new-fangled' (cf. POWELL s.v. 3).

καίτοι: see above on 9 β 1 s.v.[2]

καὶ (λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι) '*even* (*so much*) (as to *hear*)': how much more so, then, the fact itself (a fortiori).

δεινόν '*terrible*': see above on 9.2 & 10 α 3 s.v.[3]

ἐπ' '(depending) *on*': cf. on πρήγματα above; other subjects are the Persian army at 7.52.1 with a complement διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, and an accusative-cum-infinitive construction τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας at 8.29.2.[4]

γε takes the second position in the nominal phrase, though the limitation it brings into relief is that to *one* man (ἑνί).[5]

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[1] Resembling this in that the noun again comes to stand for a plurality of 'powers', each of which by itself could be referred to by the plural noun πρήγματα, is an instance of (2) at 7.139.5, where it is said of the Athenians sitting on the fence between Persia and Greece that ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε.

[2] P. 62.

[3] Pp. 53 & 83 respectively.

[4] 7.52.1 ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι. 8.29.2 ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας.

[5] Cf., however, STEIN: 'ἀνδρί γε, Ggs. θεῷ.' On the position of γε cf. DENNISTON pp. 146 & 149. For the sequence ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνί cf. O 372 ἐν Ἄργεΐ περ πολυπύρῳ, cited by RUIJGH 1990, p. 216 = 630, where the 'domaine de περ' is the nominal phrase Ἄργεϊ πολυπύρῳ and περ takes the second position in that nominal phrase.

10 δ 1

'σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτις δέ, ὅταν τοι δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα.'

1 βούλευ DP: βούλευε RSV: βουλεύεο **a** | τοιούτων R 2 πείθεο dP | τῶνδε RSV 3 δέ AB: τε dCP | δοκέει D[1]: δοκέῃ(ι) D[2]B[1](?)PRSV | προσαγόρευε R

'Do not you, then, choose to get into any such danger, there being no necessity at all, but follow my advice. For now, dissolve this gathering, and at another time, whenever it pleases you, having considered beforehand by yourself, speak out openly the things that seem to be best to you.'

(σὺ) **ὦν** (μὴ) '(do not *you*,) *then*,': the particle marks a speaker's coming to the point, in this case the warning which Xerxes is to take from his father's example.[1]—Cf. 11.4 & 12.2 & 15.3 below s.v. and 16 β 1 below s.v. (νῦν) ὦν.[2]

μὴ **βούλευ** ἐς . . . ἀπικέσθαι 'do not *choose* to get into . . .': paraphrasing an imperative by means of βούλεσθαι is especially appropriate when the action enjoined, or its completion, is not entirely in the hands of the person it is enjoined on; cf. 8.140 α 4 (Xerxes, with Mardonius as his spokesman, to the Athenians) μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης and 1.85.2 in an oracle to Croesus μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν | παιδὸς φθεγγομένου.

ἐς . . . ἀπικέσθαι '*get into*': similar complements of the verb with the same preposition in H. include 1.79.2 ἀπορίην πολλήν & 116.4 ἀνάγκας μεγάλας & 124.1 a portion of τύχη, or varying portions (7.118, 8.52.1, 9.118.1) of κακόν, and 4.127.2 μάχην (Powell s.v. 1.h).

τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον '*dissolve this gathering*', i.e. the σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον 'called' at 8.1 above. The Persian peers mentioned there

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[1] Beck 1971, p. 76 classes 10 β 2—δ 1 as the only instance of type 3 ('Begründung') d ('Parallele') of 'die beweisende Ringkomposition': 'Artabanos rät ihm von einem Krieg in Griechenland ab. Dazu verweist er auf die Lage, in die Dareios gekommen war. Geschähe das auch dem Xerxes, so könnte man auch auf die gleiche Gefahr schließen, daß nämlich die Brücken abgebrochen würden. Die Analogie ist hier Konstruktion, denn Dareios wäre dieses Unglück ja nur beinahe zugestoßen. Die Warnung wird aber trotzdem sehr nachdrücklich wiederholt.' Cf. also p. 86.

[2] Pp. 169 & 184–5 & 211 and 235 respectively.

(Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων) could be said, if Artabanus' suggestion were adopted, to διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου (3.73.3); cf. οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου (8.56).

νῦν μέν . . . αὖτις δέ '*now . . . at another time, on another occasion*': this sequence here alone in H.,[1] but πρῶτα μέν . . . αὖτις δέ occurs five times in H. The various headings s.v. in LSJ (αὖθις) and in POWELL represent context-bound final interpretations which may be indicated by such patterns or specified by adverbs and phrases found in the same clause with αὖτις, such as δεύτερα and ὕστερον in cases of recurrence or repetition,[2] or ὀπίσω for return journeys.[3]

προσκεψάμενος '*having considered beforehand*': that the preverb bears its full temporal value is confirmed by the only other instance of the compound in H. at 7.177 οἱ μὲν οὖν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι· ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθεϊ ἕξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: the Greeks review the entire situation in advance, make certain calculations on the basis of this review, and so come to a decision. This parallel, with other early uses such as Soph. *Ant.* 688 πάντα προσκοπεῖν ὅσα | λέγει τις ἢ πράσσει τις ἢ ψέγειν ἔχει and Eur. *Med.* 460 τὸ σὸν δὲ προσκοπούμενος, γύναι, | ὡς μήτ' ἀχρήμων σὺν τέκνοισιν ἐκπέσῃς | μήτ' ἐνδεής του,[4] suggests that the verb may be understood as transitive at least secondarily, and that τά . . . ἄριστα to that extent should be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ '*by yourself, on your own*', just as the newborn babes subjected to Psammetichus' experiment in language acquisition are said to ἐν στέγῃ . . . ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν κεῖσθαι at 2.2.2.

προαγόρευε '*speak out openly, proclaim*': in contrast with προσκεψάμενος the preverb does not contribute a temporal force here; where it

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[1] The inverse order for the same combination in A 140–1 ἀλλ' ἤτοι μὲν ταῦτα μεταφρασόμεσθα καὶ αὖτις, | νῦν δ' ἄγε (. . .).

[2] ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσίς τε καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης 4.76.1; δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ 7.141.1; Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὖτις Καμβύσεω 3.88.1.

[3] 6.24.2 παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὖτις ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, 2.122.3 and 4.105.2 with ἐς τὠυτὸ (χωρίον) and a compound with ἀπο-.

[4] Cf. *Andr.* 257.

does,[1] the required interpretation of the compound is 'foretell', e.g. 1.74.2 τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι. This is precisely where the verb does not overlap in distribution with the more frequent προεῖπα,[2] suggesting that the difference is at bottom a lexicalized distinction between types of action.[3]

δοκέει '*seem*': for the present tense cp. KLOSE 1968, p. 171.

ἄριστα '*best*', cf. 9.1 above with note s.v. ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα,[4] and esp. 235.1 below τὸ ἄριστον, quoted *ad* 10 α 3 s.v. δίκαιον.[5]

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[1] At 1.74.2 & 91.4.

[2] Found e.g. at 9 β 1 above, where see note s.v. **προείπωσι** pp. 64, & 12.2 & (pass.) 18.3 below.

[3] This on the presupposition, made explicit *ad* 9 β 1 above p. 64, that in **προεῖπα** too the force of the preverb may be temporal.

[4] P. 51.

[5] P. 84 above.

10 δ 2

'τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἧσσον εὖ, ἕσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὕρημα εὕρηκε, ἧσσον δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται.'

1 ἐόν] σόν **d** 3 ἡ om. **d** 4 δὲ] τε Bekker

'*For sound deliberation I find to be the greatest advantage. For even if there is something which makes for opposition, the decision has not been taken less well, but the outcome of deliberation has been worsted by chance. He, however, who has deliberated in an evil way, supposing chance sides with him, has got a windfall, but his decision has not been taken any less perniciously.*'

τὸ . . . εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν '*sound deliberation I find to be the greatest advantage*': the sentiment will be developed and modified at the beginning of Artabanus' second speech at 16 α 1 below.

κέρδος '*advantage, asset*', i.e. what *profits* a man; to be distinguished from the final outcome, as the Greek messengers do at 7.157.3 in winding up their speech to Gelon with the words τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτὴ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι. What may interfere is what Artabanus calls τύχη.

εὑρίσκω '*I find*': for the present tense see on 8 α 2 s.v. above.[1]

εἰ γὰρ . . . κακῶς βεβούλευται '*for if . . . the decision has been taken perniciously*': schematically we have two polar statements (1) 'sound deliberation followed by adversity is due to bad luck'—(2) 'unsound deliberation followed by success is due to good luck' neatly balancing one another in sense, but not presented in parallel form because (*a*) each one takes its departure from what in its case is the flaw, so that the two between them cover all that may go wrong. This accounts for the order of (1) as 'adversity following sound deliberation is due to bad luck'; and (*b*) the speaker's concern is to uphold the factor of deliberation, which is why he reverts to it at the end of (2) where he adds 'but the deliberation was none the better for that'. A refinement is that the word βούλευμα occurs at the end of (1) as well, a

[1] Pp. 22–3.

second mention of its topic which at once rounds off the statement now completed and prepares for its continuing as the topic of (2).

εἰ . . . ἐναντιωθῆναι . . .· . . . εἰ . . . ἐπίσποιτο '*if . . . opposes itself . . .*; . . . *if . . . sides with . . .*': both verbs have been used in γ 2 above εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη with Histiaeus as subject; their recurrence may be involuntary, but even so it suggests the Histiaeus episode as an example of those workings of τύχη which human βουλεύματα, though they cannot rule them out, should not minister to.

εἰ . . . καί '*even if*': the difference with καὶ εἰ is gradual; the latter, both as being less frequent and because word order makes the adverb bear on the conditional conjunction rather than on the proposition as a whole, tends to be reserved for conditions represented as unlikely to be fulfilled, if not downright unreal, whereas in the former καί may convey no more than an admission that the statement contained in the main clause might be unexpected in view of the circumstance mentioned. A hard and fast line may be drawn by the choice of a verb form, as between the examples made up by KG[1] εἰ καὶ θνητός εἰμι and καὶ εἰ ἀθάνατος ἦν. DENNISTON[2] is bedevilled by his own notion of a climax; when καὶ εἰ 'introduces an admitted fact'[3] all that we need to assume is that this circumstance is marked more strictly as an extension to the scope of the main clause.[4]

θέλει '*is equal to* or *stands for, is making for, has, find it in itself* to do': STEIN's equation '= μέλλει' is not confirmed by his reference to Ar. *Vesp.* 536, where a future interpretation is indicated by the context, nor by the addition 'Bei H. öfter im Futur'.[5] Cf. LSJ s.v. II.1 'to express a *future* event'; this use may be correlated to their heading II.2 '*to be naturally disposed, to be wont* or *accustomed*' in the sense that we interpret the verb under II.1 as referring to the future because it occurs in a conditional clause mentioning a single event, under

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[1] II 488(–90).

[2] Pp. 299–305.

[3] P. 302.

[4] Cf. also WAKKER 1994, pp. 329–39. Her conclusion is that 'the only difference between εἰ καί and καὶ εἰ is a small semantic difference, i.e. a difference in 'strength' of the subordinator: εἰ καί is the weak, neutral introduction of a concessive relationship, καὶ εἰ the strong one, presenting the concessive condition as extraordinary or extreme.' (p. 339).

[5] His fuller note *ad* 1.32.3 adds the restriction 'in kondizionalen Nebensätzen'.

II.2 as referring to a general tendency because e.g. an indefinite plural is used; other uses such as those under LSJ I.2 'with neg., almost, = δύναμαι', and II.3 with λέγειν &c. show that disposition and habit are not, any more than volition, sufficiently general to underlie all instances of the verb. Its main use appears to be to focus on the contribution of the one subject to an interaction: to assess what it in itself is tending towards or good for, as distinct from the final result of the action. Such a notion might serve as a common factor applicable to these uses as well as to that of countenancing an aim, as distinct from βούλεσθαι, choosing or preferring. The distinction between the latter is operative within one context at 1.86.2 εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι & 73.1 . . . τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τείσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον, and 5.74.1 τείσασθαί τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι.

For the contribution of the verb to the present conditional context cf. 7.49.4 εἰ θέλει[1] τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστῆναι 'if nothing *puts itself* in your way', taken up in 49.5 with the verb we have here in ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, 2.11.4 εἰ ὦν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει κτλ 'if the part of the Nile should be to flow into . . .', 'if it takes it upon itself to'; similarly 2.99.3 εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ. The continuity of these uses with that for volition is illustrated by the series 2.173.4 οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεί 'takes the part of being strained always', 3.12.1 εἰ θέλοις ψήφῳ μούνῃ βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις 'all that *you* have to subscribe to is . . .', 1.207.3 εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι 'if we sign for allowing our enemies into our country'. The instance at 1.32.3 εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοὔτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι 'if every other year *lends itself to* being prolonged by one month' is perhaps similar to the slightly different case not of (1) 'if S is good for doing *p*', but of (2) 'if S does *p*, which it is good for' (alternatively 'if S is good for doing *p*, as it is'): 1.109.4 if the tyrannis ἐθελήσει . . . ἀναβῆναι *devolves* upon his daughter, as it may be expected to, 2.14.1

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[1] θέλει ACP: ἐθέλει DR: θέλοι B: ἐθέλοι SV.

if the country below Memphis θέλοι[1] . . . αὐξάνεσθαι increases κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου the way it has done in the past.—Also θελήσεις in θ 3 below with note s.v.[2]

βεβούλευται . . . εὖ '*the decision has been taken . . . well*': the third person passive, not complemented by a dative of the agent as in 5.92 γ 2 τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο and 8.100.3 εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται[3] but impersonal[4] like τι θέλει, steers clear of an application to Xerxes of the notion of a ruler who fails to bring it off, by presenting the undesirable event as a conjunction to be blamed not on human agents, but on τύχη:[5]

τύχης (. . . **τύχη**) '*chance*', i.e. things that happen to happen, and are as they are: another expression which helps to keep human responsibility limited to taking the right decisions. 'The *decision* is not any the worse for that: it has been worsted by *chance*'. Contrast βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς:

βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς '(has) *deliberated ill*' the deterrent example is presented more graphically as a person.

αἰσχρῶς '*disgracefully, ill*' compared to **κακῶς**, which has been implicitly denied in οὐδὲν ἧσσον **εὖ** and which follows, adds that this bad planning is to the dishonour of the man who does it. For the combination with εὖ cf. 7.157.3 τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι, with κακῶς 1.112.3 οὔτε . . . οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται.

ἐπίσποιτο '*should side with*': the meaning '*come, go with*' in H. (16 x) as in the *Odyssey* is applied both physically and 'morally', and within the former category both to *accompanying* and to hostile *pursuit*; within

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[1] ἐθελήσει **d**. The indicative in this context suits the alternative understanding of the verb given in the parenthesis better than the optative: 'if it continues to . . ., as it has . . .' rather than 'if it should . . .'.

[2] P. 144.

[3] We have a different way of forming a perfect passive of the verb with reference to a person at 3.134.4 with the first person ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι . . . στρατεύεσθαι. With an impersonal interpretation we more often (6 x) find the participle, e.g. 4.128.2 ἐποίευν τὰ βεβουλευμένα rather than τὰ βεβούλευται.

[4] It could be thus construed at 4.140.2 τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν, but the pronoun σφι is more naturally taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

[5] On the perfect cf. Sicking & Stork 1996, p. 168, who paraphrase as follows: 'even if things go against us, that by itself does not affect the quality of our deliberations', and compare Pl. *Crit.* 46 A 4–5 ἀλλὰ βουλεύου—μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι ἔτι ὥρα ἀλλὰ βεβουλεῦσθαι.

the latter the application to a person's *complying with* γνώμῃ in γ 2 above, δόλῳ at 1.91.1, resembles that in Homer to *obeying*, but that to τύχῃ as *siding with* a person, here and 1.32.5, is new. The optative marks the occurrence as suppositious and outside the control of the speaker; it suits Artabanus to characterize the possibility now under consideration as one which cannot be relied on.

εὕρημα εὕρηκε '*has gotten a windfall*': the noun is applied to another non-concrete object, a successful *coup*, at 7.155.2; again with the cognate verb, but with the object ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα in apposition at 8.109.2 (εὑρήκαμεν); and to literal finds at 7.190 (εὗρε) εὑρήμασι.[1]

[1] The third instance of the perfect occurs in 1.44.2 Κροῖσος ... ἐκάλεε ... Δία καθάρσιον ... τὸν δὲ εταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

10 ε

'ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα. φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν.'

1–7 ὁρᾷς—ἑωυτόν Stob. *Anth.* 3.22.46 2 οὐδέ SV | κνίζειν RSV 3 καὶ om. SV | δένδρα V | alt. τὰ om. **d**P Stob. 4 δὲ] δὴ P | πολὺς Stob. 5 τὸ τοιόνδε **d** | σφιν Stob. | ὁ θεὸς ὁ D 6 ἐφθάρησαν] ἐσφάλησαν **d**P | ἀξίως Stob.

'You see how the god hits the creatures that stand out with his lightning and does not allow them to make a show, but the small ones do not vex him a bit. And you see how he hurls off his projectiles on to those buildings which are largest in any instance and to trees of the same kind. For the god is accustomed to curtail all things that stand out. Thus even a big host is destroyed by a small one according to such a thing as follows: whenever the god conceives jealousy and casts panic or thunder upon them, they have indeed been known to be destroyed in a manner not fitting them. For the god does not allow any one other than himself to think big.'

ὁρᾷς *'you see'* opening a sentence without an explicit coordinating device in H. also 7.50.(2–)3 τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγομένοισί τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνέουσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. (3) ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλέες γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ . . . οὐκ ἄν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτό σφεα προηγάγοντο and in what is printed by Hude and Stein as a question 9.16.(2–)3 μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. (3) ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον; τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.[1]

Not far removed in date are Soph. *Ant.* 712 'A man should be willing to give in. You see how many trees yield to the wintry cur-

[100] For the 'asyndeton' cf. Brouwer 1975, p. 60.

rent, and that those which do not are lost. In the same way a sailor who keeps his sails hoisted sees his boat overturned. No, desist from anger', and Ar. *Equ.* 92 'You dare speak ill of wine as it affects ingenuity? You think you could find any more effective agent than wine? You see when people drink, then they grow rich, succeed, win cases, prosper, help their friends. Go pour me a glass, so I can sprinkle my brain and say something smart.'

The differences between these contexts are not negligible,[1] but some things they share are (1) an appeal to observation serving to win acceptance for some less immediately obvious conclusion or consequence,[2] and (2) the pattern of a detour, with the conclusion or consequence bringing out the relation to what preceded the appeal.

Though grammar may make it the main verb and the nucleus of the sentence: predicate containing subject, it is on a different plane from the finite verbs of the previous sentence, to which in this case κεραυνοῖ, ἐᾷ, and κνίζει provide the continuation in sense. This makes such particles as δέ and καί inapplicable; indeed ὁρᾷς itself could be compared to a particle or interjection, and parataxis is not far removed: both 'you see the tall creatures: how the god hits them' and 'you see:[3] how the god hits the tall creatures with his lightning', continued with a proper coordinator in ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς 'and you see how . . .'.[4] Van Groningen suggests a comparison between ὁρᾷς (. . .) ὡς . . ., οὕτω and ὥσπερ . . ., οὕτως.[5]

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[1] 7.50.(2–)3: perception of actual fact contrasted with counterfactual historical speculation to establish general statement; 9.16.(2–)3: present and recently past sense perception contrasted with predicted future sense perception to constitute deterrent example; *Ant.* 712 and *Equ.* 92 perception (of nature and of society respectively) exploited for (edification and valuation respectively, and) guidance to present behaviour; *h.l.* perception of nature first given a general interpretation, then exploited for an analogy whose application is obvious.

[2] Cf. ὡρᾶτε in 8 β 2 above with note s.v. p. 29.

[3] Or 'You see?': cf. Φ 108 οὐχ ὁράᾳς οἷος καὶ ἐγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;

[4] This reduction of ὁρᾷς to the status of a formula is confirmed by the fact that the reference is not to what the person addressed literally witnesses at the moment of speech. *H.l.* the recourse to the terminology of experience is in line with that in δ 2 εὑρίσκω.

[5] The pattern is found in a very full form in *Matth.* 6.28–9 καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνουσιν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομὼν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἓν τούτων, complete with so-called prolepsis to introduce as topic the object providing the analogy, and with a specification of the *tertium comparationis* as *h.l.*, and then with λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι explicitly marking the claim which it was all about. It could be argued that this latter role is performed by τοίνυν (*bis*) in H. 7.50.2–3.

ὁρᾷς . . . ὁρᾷς δέ: *'you see . . . and you see'*: on the anaphora and the over-all structure of this period (ὁρᾷς—κολούειν) cf. MÜLLER 1980, pp. 99–100.[1]

τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεός *'how the god hits the tall creatures with his lightning'*: an example is Zeus' extirpation of the Giants recalled by Pl. *Symp.* 190 C 2–3 ὥσπερ τοὺς γίγαντας κεραυνώσαντες.

ὑπερέχοντα *'standing out, rising above'*, in H. always (12 x) physically and 'intransitive' insofar as it has two, not three 'places': though ὑπερ- may have an explicit genitive complement, -έχειν has no 'affected' (accusative) object *held* over something, as distinct from the accusative complement at 2.149.2 πυραμίδες τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς. A comparable context involving φυτά similarly ὑπερέχοντα is cited s.v. κολούειν below.

κεραυνοῖ *'hits with his lightning'*: here alone in H.

οὐδὲ ἐᾷ *'and does not allow* (them)', cf. above 9.1 οὐκ ἐάσεις and below towards the end of 10 ε οὐ . . . ἐᾷ, 16 β 1 οὐκ ἐῶντα & 18.2 οὐκ ἔων. All four contexts show that the negation has not yet coalesced with the verb into a virtual compound 'forbid'.

φαντάζεσθαι *'make an appearance,—a show'*: in H. also 15.2 below and 4.124.2 ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι;[2] a more deliberate and emphatic doublet of ('substantive', not 'copulative') φαίνεσθαι, the verb here strictly refers to the greater height which makes some creatures more conspicuous than others, but it forms part of a picture which admits of a metaphoric interpretation, subsequently confirmed by the repetition of οὐ (. . .) ἐᾷ which suggests a rough equivalence with μέγα φρονέειν.

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[1] 'Eine komplizierte Verbindung von Antithese mit Parallelismus und Anapher ist 7,10 ε . . . Der Satz ist ein kleines Kunstwerk. Die beiden durch die Anaphora verbundenen, ungleich lange Hälften sind einerseits parallel konstruiert (ὡς), in ihrer Struktur zwar unsymmetrisch, aber komplementär gestaltet; Objekt—Prädikat—Prädikat // Objekt—Objekt—Prädikat; im ersten Teil ist die antithetische Aussage formuliert, variiert durch den Subjekts-Objektswechsel, im zweiten Teil bleibt die antithetische Aussage, da nun selbstverständlich, fort. Die abschließende, sich als Resultat der Beispiele ergebende Gnome ist durch die Wiederholung von ὑπερέχοντα eng mit dem Vorangegangenen verknüpft; dieses Wort, jeweils an dritter bzw. drittletzter Stelle stehend, rahmt gleichsam die Gedankenkette ein.'

[2] Where the negation seems relevant: they 'did not show up any more', 'were nowhere to be found', '—not to be descried', almost '—conspicuous by their absence', cf. MACAN's '(mysterious) disappearance'.

κνίζει '*scratch,* hence *irritate, vex*': in H. also 12.1 below, when Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη, and 6.62.1 τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἔρως. The contexts suggest, and the use of present and aorist stem forms does not contradict, that a main difference with ἔδακε '*bit*' at 16 α 2 below,[1] is that between a prolonged, 'nagging and gnawing' and an acute, 'sharp' pain.

τά (*bis*) '*the*': specifying: 'of buildings those which are largest in any instance (**αἰεί**), and likewise of trees'. Cf. τά in 5.3 above with note s.v.[2]

ἀποσκήπτει '*hurls off*'; the only other instance of the verb in H. at 1.120.6 is intransitive, ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον[3] 'the dream having *fallen, come* (down) to a sorry (end)'. For a synonymous compound from the same stem, likewise used both transitively and intransitively by H., see next note; ἐπισκήπτειν has a different use.

βέλεα, 'things *thrown,* projectiles', are *arrows* at 1.214.2 (ἐξετετόξευτο) and 9.18.1; *thunderbolts* once more at 4.79.2 (ἐνέσκηψε).

φιλέει '*is accustomed to*': see on ζ below s.v. φιλέουσι.[4]

κολούειν '*curtail, dock*' should be allowed its literal, physical application, as in the only other context in H. at 5.92 ζ 2 (*bis*) on Periander's cutting short the ὑπερέχοντα among his ears of corn. Artabanus like Periander exploits the persuasive force of visible phenomena, though unlike Periander he adds an interpretation—but not before the last sentence of this section οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ κτλ.

κατά '*according to*': the separation of a heading '*because of*' (POWELL s.v., III 7: 37 x) from other 'modal', i.e. non-local and non-temporal uses reflects contextual indications rather than distinctions of sense and is at most a matter of degree: compare 4.140.2 τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν from this heading with 1.191.2 (τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν . . . προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ . . . ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ . . .) οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε κτλ in a set (POWELL s.v., III 2: 55 x) comprehending κατὰ τάδε '*thus*', κατὰ τώυτό

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[1] On which see note s.v. ἐμὲ . . . οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον . . . ὅτι . . . at p. 227.
[2] P. 10.
[3] φαῦλον **a**P.
[4] P. 122.

'*in the same way*', and similar formulas. Cf. κατά περ in 16 α 1 and next note.

τοιόνδε '(a thing) *such as follows*': not τοῦτο, which H. tends[1] to use when (I) the specification has preceded, e.g. 2.169.1 ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθεϊ δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἑσσώθησαν, 3.109.3 οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ἐόντες ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι, 5.86.2 οὔτε εἰ ἥσσονες συγγιγνωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ κτλ, 6.44.3 οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἠπιστέατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγεϊ,[2] but as in 4.176 Γινδᾶνες ... τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἑκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μειχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· ἣ δ' ἂν πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα, & 48.1–50.2 Ἴστρος μὲν ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἑωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος ... κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε, ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων (... 50.2) ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἔν τε θέρεϊ καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἴστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ... τοῦ δὲ θέρεος....[3] By what is likely to be more than a coincidence τοῦτο in these examples tends to (II) refer to individual observable facts, τοιόνδε more often to general principles, grounds or truths; together (I) and (II) imply that H. when he has recourse to such generalities inclines to mention their instances first.

ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας ... ἐμβάλῃ '*the god evincing jealousy ... hurls upon*': H. supplies an interpretation which his readers may apply where the phaenomena are merely said to ἐμπίπτειν: see below s.v. φόβον ... ἢ βροντήν.

φθονήσας '*evincing jealousy*': this attitude is ascribed to the godhead or the divine in H. by Greek and non-Greek alike, cf. 1.32.1 (Solon), 3.40.2 (Amasis), 7.46.4 (Artabanus again).

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[1] He uses it with following specification at 3.137.5 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον ... Δημοκήδης, ἵνα φανῇ ... δόκιμος.

[2] Similarly 2.129.2, 5.3.1, 6.65.3, and the plural ταῦτα at 4.140.2.

[3] Similarly 1.68.4 (3 συμβαλλόμενος ... 4 εὕρισκε ...) τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται.

φόβον . . . ἢ βροντὴν '*panic or thunder*': the god is represented by Artabanus as having a choice of weapons at his disposal, but he will be found to use them in a series or in combination, at 7.42.2–43.2 βρονταί (τε καὶ πρηστῆρες) ἐπεσπίπτουσι . . . (43.1 ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον. . . . 43.2:) φόβος . . . ἐνέπεσε, and 8.37.3–38 ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον (ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο . . . ἐς αὐτοὺς . . . ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ . . . βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. 38:) συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε.

ἐπεάν . . . ἐμβάλῃ . . . δι' ὦν ἐφθάρησαν . . . '*whenever . . . hurls upon . . ., they have indeed been known to be destroyed*':[1] KG I 537 under (12) a) list parallels in H. for the combination of (subordinate clause) prospective subjunctive with (main clause) empiric aorist compound *in tmesi* with ὦν intervening; the closest is 2.40.2 ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὦν εἷλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι. This example hardly bears out the use they ascribe to such 'tmesis', quoting Stein *ad* 1.194.4, 'um eine Handlung als energisch und lebhaft oder als plötzlich, unverzüglich, eilfertig darzustellen',[2] and anyway it might make for a more accurate description to assume that the particle can be where it is precisely because the 'preverb' is still a word in its own right, not coalesced with the verb, and that the choice between the order 'preverb'—particle—verb and the order 'preverb'—verb—particle is to some extent determined by whether it is the preverb or the verb which is mainly focused on.[3]—Stein cites 18 x, 13 of them from

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[1] Wrongly rendered by Hettrich 1976, p. 57 as "Wenn der Gott von Neid gepackt Panik unter ihnen auslöste, kamen sie dadurch in unwürdiger Weise um.", as was pointed out by Ruijgh 1979, p. 225 = 772.

[2] Cf. KG I 536 under 11: 'Mit dem Charakter der Prosa . . . verträgt sich die Tmesis, die der erhabenen und emphatischen Sprache der Dramatiker und Lyriker ganz angemessen ist, an und für sich nicht. . . . Der einzige Prosaist, bei dem sie ziemlich häufig vorkommt, ist Herodot, dessen Geschichtswerk aber ganz den Charakter eines Epos an sich trägt . . . Natürlich muss in der Prosa die Wirkung dieser Figur um so nachdrücklicher hervortreten, als sie in ihr ungewöhnlich ist.'

[3] Notably this use of ὦν with a compound *in tmesi* is restricted to the empiric or gnomic aorist, and almost exclusively to compounds (cf. next footnote). The positioning of the phrase with ὦν later in the sentence or clause shows it to be a fixed collocation (C.J. Ruijgh).

book 2 and all but the present from the first 4 books;[1] cf. KLOSE 1968, p. 266 n. 72.

οὐ . . . ἐᾷ *'does not allow'*: see above s.v. οὐδὲ ἐᾷ.

φρονέειν μέγα *'to think big'*: the collocation here alone in H.; of the two instances in H. of the noun derived from it and first found in H. that at 7.24 μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε is explained by the sequel ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι, that at 7.136.2 Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι proves that though H. and his Artabanus may be aware that this cast of mind does not meet with divine approval, the word itself has not therefore acquired an unfavourable connotation—as indeed we might infer from the addition here of (ἄλλον) ἢ ἑωυτόν. The sentiment voiced by Artabanus is not, then, a truism. 'Great ambitions are not for mere men.'

ἀναξίως *'in a manner not fitting'*: in H. the adverb here alone, the adjective above 9.1 (ἐόντας) ἀναξίους with note s.v.,[2] 1.73.5 & 114.4. The alternative of a negatived ἀξίως is found in a context inviting comparison at 3.125.2 (Polycrates) διεφθάρη κακῶς οὔτε ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φρονημάτων & 3 ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος. For the adjective cf. above 5.3 ἀξίη (ἐκτῆσθαι) and below, η 1 (οὐκ ἐόντων) ἀξίων (φλαύρως ἀκούειν) & 11.1 ἄξιον (ἐπέων ματαίων); for the verb derived from it see below 16.1 (οὐκ) ἀξιεύμενος (ἵζεσθαι) & γ 2 (οὐδὲ) ἀξιώσει (ἐπιφανῆναι) with note s.v.[3]

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[1] *Empiric aorist with tmesis*: with preceding ἐπεάν-clause 1.194.4 ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται . . . ἀπ' ὦν ἐκήρυξαν . . .; 2.40.2 ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι . . . ἐξ ὦν εἷλον; 2.47.3 ἐπεὰν θύσῃ . . . κατ' ὦν ἐκάλυψε; 2.70.2 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ . . . κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε; 2.87.2 ἐπεὰν [τοὺς] κλυστῆρας πλήσωνται . . . ἐν ὦν ἔπλησαν; 2.87.3 ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ὦν ἔδωκαν; 7.10 ε; with preceding ἥν-clause 2.47.1 ἥν τις ψαύσῃ . . . ἀπ' ὦν ἔβαψε; 4.196.2 ἢν μὲν φαίνηται . . . πρὸς ὦν ἔθηκαν; with preceding relative clause defining subject 2.39.2 τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ᾖ ἀγορὴ . . . οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὦν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ . . . οἱ δὲ κτλ; 2.85.1 τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται . . . ἄνθρωπος . . . τὸ θῆλυ γένος . . . κατ' ὦν ἐπλάσατο; in participle 2.172.3 κατ' ὦν κόψας (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1047 κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν); in non-compound sentence 2.86.4 ἐξ ὦν εἷλον; 2.88 ἀπ' ὦν ἔδωκαν; 2.96.2 ἐν ὦν ἐπάκτωσαν; 2.122.3 κατ' ὦν ἔδησαν; 3.82.4 ἀν' ὦν ἐφάνη; 4.60.2 περὶ ὦν ἔβαλε.

Instances of the *empiric/gnomic aorist without tmesis* are: in non-compound sentence 1.32.9 ἀνέτρεψε; 2.20.2 οὐκ ὦν ἔπνευσαν; 3.82.3 ἀπέβη & διέδεξε; 7.172.3 ἔφυ; with preceding ἐπεάν-clause 1.132.2 ἔθηκε ὦν.

[2] P. 52.

[3] Pp. 252–3.

10 ζ

'ἐπειχθῆναι μέν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν.'

1 ἐπειχθὲν Siesbye 3 εὕροι dP | τι τις SV

'Now, precipitating every matter generates failures, from which great damage tends to come. In holding back there are benefits, which, if they do not at once appear to be there, a man may still find out with the passing of time.'

ἐπειχθῆναι . . . πρῆγμα *'precipitate . . . a thing'*: the noun has been taken to be the subject of the verb by VAN GRONINGEN and POWELL s.v. '4. true pass. *be pressed on*', a class with just this one member; contrast ABICHT:[1] 'Das mediale ἐπειχθῆναι, wovon πᾶν πρῆγμα abhängt, ist Subjekt zu τίκτει.' If the objection to this reading was that the verb is elsewhere in H. (19 x) intransitive, then passivization does not remove the oddity; if it was that the verb in Homer takes a genitive object, the answer is that such objects as Ἄρηος (T 142) and ὁδοῖο (α 309) are in a different, more external relation to the action; here we are on the sliding scale between so-called 'internal object' and 'accusative of respect'. The older interpretation is favoured by the contrast with ἐπισχεῖν ('opp. ἐπειχθῆναι' ABICHT, cf. ἔνεστι ἀγαθά balancing τίκτει σφάλματα) and actually yields a more appropriate sense, since the pièce de résistance is the *haste*, which is fatal to every action, whereas the other interpretation strictly claims no more than that it is fatal to perform *every* action in haste.

μέν νυν (. . . δέ) *'Now, . . .* (. . ., on the other hand, . . .)': see on 8 α 1 s.v. above.[2] On the analogy of that passage the present use would imply that the first half of the sentence sums up the preceding paragraph in so far as it exemplifies the dangers of precipitation, and as a foil for the blessings to be derived from restraint (ἐπισχεῖν).

σφάλματα *'failures'* are properly instances of being tripped up and tipped over. In 16 α 1 & 2 below an external cause is found in the influence of bad companions and their proposals: see notes s.vv.

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[1] And STEIN.
[2] P. 17.

σφάλλουσι and σφαλερωτέρην.[1] There the reference is to defective judgment,[2] which is what seems to be primarily intended here; the three other instances of the noun in H. rather more specifically point to political and military disaster.[3] Two of them[4] provide the object of a φέρειν from without; here

τίκτει '*generates*' expresses an intrinsic tendency.

ζημίαι '*damage*': the choice of this word (7 x in H.) rather than e.g. κακά as directly opposed to the ἀγαθά balancing it in the second half of the period seems to characterize the undesirable consequences as something the agent has inflicted or called down on himself: having caused the damage he has to pay the damages.

φιλέουσι, properly 'to treat as φίλον *belonging to* one', in H. most often as here refers to what it 'belongs to' some subject[5] to do, i.e. to its customary behaviour or, when no subject is expressed (8.128.2 τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἳ κτλ and most conspicuously 6.27.1 φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν), to what usually happens: thus in 12 instances, as against six applications to relations between persons, four of them to kissing, one (4.176) to sexual intercourse, and one (5.5) to someone's holding his γυναῖκας and φίλους near and dear generally.—Also φιλέει at 9 γ & 10 ε above.

ἐπισχεῖν '*hold back*': of the four intransitive uses distinguished by Powell s.v. II that under (4) in 2.96.3 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται may be related to the transitive uses under (1) in 1.108.1 and 7.19.1 τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, cf. under (3) 4.199.2 ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὀπώρη ἐπέχει, in other words it is intran-

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[1] Pp. 221–2 & 233 respectively.

[2] As the verb does at 7.52.1 in τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων σφάλλεαι.

[3] As the verb does at 7.168.1 in οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη· ἢν γὰρ σφαλῇ κτλ.

[4] Quoted p. 222 s.v. σφάλλουσι with n. 2; the third is at 1.207.1, also quoted there.

[5] This subject may be impersonal, and if it is personal is often collective or more precisely distributive, e.g. 2.135.5 ἐπαφρόδιτοι (γίνεσθαι) ἑταῖραι, and the behaviour ascribed to it may still be largely or wholly involuntary, as in 8.68 γ τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι . . . κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι and 9.122.3 φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι (though compare the god in ε above). The development, postulated by LSJ s.v. II, from 'love to do, be fond of doing, *and so* to be wont or used to do' (italics ours) is not above doubt.

sitive only in surface structure, if at all, and those under (3) '*aim at*' and (2) '*intend*' are alike in taking, if not an object, at least a complement (prepositional phrase and infinitive respectively), and one denoting a goal of some kind. This leaves those under (1), translated '*pause, wait*' and '*hold one's peace*', as the most thoroughly intransitive class, of whose 19 instances most are expanded by a phrase specifying (*a*) the thing to be (or, as the case may be, *not* to be) delayed or avoided, such as 5.51.1 λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν, 7.139.1 ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μέν . . ., ὅμως δέ . . . οὐκ ἐπισχήσω, 1.32.7 ἐπισχεῖν μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, or (*b*) the *terminus ad quem* as in 8.23.2 ἐπισχόντες . . . μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης or, usually, (*c*) the span of time during which to do so, but those of 8.5.1 (Themistocles) τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει & 100.3 εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν are more self-contained, and none is more absolute than the present, which anticipates the Hellenistic noun ἐποχή.

ἀγαθά '*good things, benefits*': see on 8 γ 1 above s.v.[1]

ἔνεστι . . . εἰ μὴ . . . δοκέοντα εἶναι . . . ἀλλ' . . . ἐξεύροι τις ἄν '*there are in it . . ., if not appearing to be there . . ., still . . . a man may find out*': of the parallels for 'finite verb instead of participle in the second member of an apposition' collected by Stein *ad* 1.85.1 some are more parallel than others. Here, if we disabuse ourselves of anachronistic notions of syntactic subordination, rhetorical period-building, and stylistic variation, an entirely natural unfolding of the argument emerges: '(*a*) there are benefits in it—(*b*) if they are not apparent at once—(*c*) still as time goes by a man may find them out'. In (*b*) a finite verb would make an issue of the truth of the claim at large, whereas the participle shows Artabanus to be commenting on the character of the benefits in store; in (*c*) attention shifts from the status of these benefits in themselves to the enticing prospect of attaining them.[2]

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[1] P. 36.

[2] Wakker 1994, p. 285 cites 3.72.1 φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἶδάς κου καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας: 'In assertions like (20) the idiom reinforces the assertion of the less stronger claim, which is presented as in any case true ("you know of it in any case from hearsay"). The possibility that even the stronger claim is true is left open ("if you haven't seen it yourself").' She cites as instances apart from *h.l.* Soph. *Ai.* 1317; Pl. *Grg.* 470 D 7, *Leg.* 806 B 4, *Resp.* 502 A 1. Cf. also Brouwer 1975, pp. 71–3.

παραυτίκα, literally something like 'at the moment next to it', i.e. '*at first*', is found with μέν in contrast or at least balance with a later time more often than simple αὐτίκα 'at the (very) time', 'at once', for which see on 14 below s.v.:[1] thus again below at 13.2 παραυτίκα μέν ... νῦν μέντοι & 15.1 τὸ παραυτίκα μέν ... (2) μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον. Moreover where αὐτίκα is so used there need not be more involved than a sequence of two stages,[2] as at 3.136.1 αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν ... παρασκευασάμενοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα or, combined with some sort of division, 4.145.5 οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἤγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι,[3] with παραυτίκα there is always implied an opposition in content[4] between the former and the latter state of affairs.[5]

[1] P. 201.

[2] At 1.2 above αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ... τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα ... (3) τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ... the adverb seems to prepare for a balance with the *second* δέ-clause following it.

[3] At 5.34.1 αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ... οἱ δ' ἐπείτε διέβαλον ... προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας the particle μέν from announcing a contrast between (1) preparations and siege slides into marking one between (2) besieged and besieger.

[4] Usually, though not at 6.63.2, a change occurring to one and the same subject.

[5] The remaining instances are 1.19.2, 7.137.1 & 168.1.

10 η 1

'σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω [Μαρδόνιε], παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται.'

1 Γοβρύεω **a**P 2 Μαρδόνιε del. Naber 4 βασιλεία V 5 ἐκτίνειν **a**

'As for you, my king, here you have my advice to you; but as for you, son of Gobryas, do stop telling idle tales about the Greeks when they do not deserve to be spoken ill of. For by discrediting the Greeks you are rousing (our master) himself, the king, to make an expedition, and that in my opinion is just what you are extending all your eagerness towards. Now just don't let it happen this way.'

(σοὶ) μὲν δὴ . . . σὺ δέ '*(As for you,), then . . .; but as for you, . . .*': the context, with a change of addressee doubly marked by pronoun as well as vocative, shows a deeper incision than that of μέν νυν (. . . δέ) in ζ and in 8 α 1 above and that of μέντοι . . . δέ in 8 γ 1 above, where see notes s.vv.[1] The balance between the two apostrophes sets off the difference in content between a recapitulation in the indicative and an unceremonious imperative.

ὦ 'Ø': also 9.1 where see note s.v. Ὦ δέσποτα & γ & 10 α 1 with note s.v. Ὦ βασιλεῦ & 3 & 12.2 & 14 & 16 α 1 with note s.v. ὦ βασιλεῦ & β 2 with note s.v. ὦ παῖ & 18.2.[2]

παῖ Γωβρύεω '*son of Gobryas*': '*noblesse oblige*' VAN GRONINGEN. This tallies with the observation that the only other instance of 'ὦ son of. . .' in this series of speeches (ὦ παῖ Δαρείου in 14) is where Xerxes is warned by his dream that if he cancels his expedition he will be brought low as speedily as he has risen. If anything can justify NABER's attractive, though not absolutely compelling, deletion of

[Μαρδόνιε] 'Mardonius' it is that the proper name detracts from, rather than adds to, the appeal contained in this form of address as '*son of*'.[3]

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[1] Pp. 121 & 17 & 35 respectively.
[2] Pp. 50 & 78 & 218 & 238–9 respectively.
[3] ROSÉN, however, prints ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε.

ματαίους '*idle*' (11 x) is what acts μάτην 'to no good,—use,—effect' (4 x): compare 3.64.2 (Cambyses) μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελφεὸν with his own assessment[1] in 3.65.3 (ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα 'things on the side of speed rather than of insight') ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν.[2] The adjective is also applied to Amasis' *idling*, free-wheeling, hence *running wild* as he (2.173.1) ἔπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός 'abandoned himself'[3] τε καὶ παιγνιήμων, and by Darius to his favourite Zopyrus (3.155.3) for what at first seem *gratuitous* self-mutilations; but more often (8 x) to gratuitous *utterances*: unfounded and off the mark 2.118.1 εἰρομένου δέ μευ τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὔ,[4] sometimes as a ground for taking offence: 3.120.1 (Oroetes) οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος (. . .) ἐπεθύμεε λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι and in Xerxes' retort to the present speech at 11.1 ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων—by contrast in 15.1 Xerxes understands that it was he who returned μάταια ἔπεα for χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς. In none of these instances is it necessary to attribute to the adjective a notion of '*insulting*',[5] the strongest support for this might seem to be derived from 6.68.2 (Demaratus questioning his mother on the subject of his conception) Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη . . ., οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασί . . . (3) ἐγώ σε ὦν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τὠληθές, where something other than mere inaccuracy must be involved because the speaker disclaims acquaintance with the truth. But an interpretation as 'wanton, licentious',[6] akin to the μάταισι πολυθρόοις of Aesch. *Suppl.* 820 on one understanding,[7]

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[1] Which surely does not amount to his calling himself 'mad' (Powell s.v. 1).

[2] The adverb, or more strictly adverbial accusative of respect, also 7.103.2 (Xerxes to Demaratus) ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ᾖ & 161.3 (Athenians to Gelon) μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, 9.39.2 πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι κτλ.

[3] At 2.162.3 ἀπεματάϊσε 'broke wind', also of Amasis, is etymologically related, and possibly ('"se laisser aller"?'—Chantraine s.v.) semantically as well; if so, the euphemism is comparable to English 'relieve oneself'.

[4] Similarly 2.2.5 about the Egyptians Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ κτλ, 3.56.2 ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὅρμηται λέγεσθαι.

[5] Powell s.v. 2.

[6] Cf. Goldsmith's (and Eliot's) 'When lovely woman stoops to folly'.

[7] The other is that of the scholion in M: ταῖς ζητήσεσιν 'searches', here implying wanderings.

or as 'gratuitous, fanciful, fantastic, (wildly) implausible', seems to fit in better with other uses.[1]

φλαύρως ἀκούειν '*be spoken poorly, ill of*': see on 16 α 2 below s.v. ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς and, for the meaning of the adverb, on 8 α 2 above s.v. φλαυροτέρην.[2]

Ἑλλήνων . . . Ἕλληνας: on the polyptoton cf. MÜLLER 1980, p. 100.

γάρ '*for*' indicates that what follows is meant to contribute towards the addressee's accepting the preceding imperative. Its scope could be said to extend beyond the main clause containing it down to the new directive utterance μὴ . . . γένηται. 'Stop talking rubbish: the consequence, and I think your purpose, is to egg the king on to an expedition. *Don't let this happen.*'

διαβάλλων, η 2 διαβολή, διαβάλλων, διαβληθείς '*discrediting*': the verb is found in 25 instances in H. with personal objects mentioned in an accusative or somehow implied; the underlying metaphor seems to presuppose two parties on the object side, which a subject is 'causing to *fall out*' with each other, between which it is trying to *sow discord*, or which are *set* or *pitched against each other, antagonized* or *opposed*,[3] as in the passive in H. at 6.64 (Demaratus) Κλεομένεϊ διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ' Αἰγινητέων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος,[4] where it is clear that the animosity is fed from both sides.[5] A difficulty mainly of translation arises when the disposition is not reciprocal and the expression not symmetrical but e.g. by means of (accusative object) πρός (accusative complement): within this pattern the direct

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[1] The range of μάργος with its two derivative nouns μαργοσύνη and μαργότης, which includes excessive appetite, whether gustatory or sexual, as well as other less clearly specified excesses, invites comparison.

[2] Pp. 226 & 24 respectively.

[3] *set at variance* LSJ s.v. III, who refer to Pl. *Resp.* 498 C 9–D 1 μὴ διάβαλλε . . . ἐμὲ καὶ Θρασύμαχον ἄρτι φίλους γεγονότας, *Symp.* 222 C 7–D 1 ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα & D 6 ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, Arist. *Pol.* 1313 b 18 τὸ διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλους φίλοις καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἑαυτοῖς. Of CHANTRAINE's glosses s.v. βάλλω 'jeter entre, séparer, attaquer, calomnier' the second one is the most relevant here; cf., of the simple verb, 'déjà de très bonne heure "mettre" (Hom., etc.).'

[4] Cf. 1.118.2 (Astyages) θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην and 5.35.1 (Aristagoras) Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλημένος.

[5] As it had not been made clear in 6.61.1 τὸν Κλεομένεα . . . ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε.

object may be the party (A) which is being set on against some (B), as (in the passive) in Isocr. (*Antidosis*) 15.175 τοὺς μὲν διαβεβλημένους πρὸς αὐτήν sc. τὴν φιλοσοφίαν,[1] but more usually the object is this (B) which is unfavourably represented to some party (A), as in H. at 5.96.1 (Hippias) διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα κτλ[2] and (passive) 8.22.3 Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα (τὰ γράμματα 22.1) ἔγραψε . . . ἵνα . . . ἢ ἐπείτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ 'were denounced' πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας.[3] An object of the (A) variety is also found where just this one object is mentioned explicitly in an accusative without any such prepositional or dative adjunct at 5.50.2 ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τἆλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ, sc. Cleomenes against the Persians.

That a distinction between (A) and (B) type objects is not in the forefront of the speaker's mind and should not be stressed at the cost of the common element is well brought out by 5.97, in which the full range of the word is exploited. Here in 97.1 the Athenians are qualified as διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας[4] and in 97.2 H. observes that it has proved easy to διαβάλλειν them, but the reference is to two different instances of διαβολή: one that by Hippias at 96.1 which as we saw had the Athenians in the (B) role, the other (97.1) by Aristagoras telling the Athenians,[5] here taking the (A) part, of the amenities and the vulnerability of Persia. These are perhaps more naturally understood as varying forms of setting parties at odds than by postulating radically different interpretations of the verb; at the same time the exposition of διαβολή in η 2 below shows that

[1] Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 3.2 1404 b 18–21 (δεῖ ποιεῖν ξένον τὴν διάλεκτον b 10–1) δεῖ λανθάνειν ποιοῦντας καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν λέγειν πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ πεφυκότως· τοῦτο γὰρ πιθανόν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοὐναντίον· ὡς γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντα διαβάλλονται. For the same use but with a dative for the object LSJ s.v. III cite Thuc. 8.81.2 (present tense) & 83.1 and Andoc. 2.24 (both perfect tense); these should be distinguished from the instances with a dative in H. quoted above (6.64 and note 4) in which the passive does not refer primarily to the (A) party but to both parties in a more reciprocal relation.

[2] With πρός also 6.133.1.

[3] Where one might have to reckon with a suggestion of 'if they were transmitted to Xerxes with the effect of διαβάλλειν', '—in, by way of διαβολή'.

[4] 5.97.1 νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ . . . ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης . . . ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

[5] As he has told Cleomenes of Sparta with less effect in the context of 5.50.2 quoted above; hence 5.97.2 πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο.

the distinction between the object roles, reflected by POWELL's translations (II) '*deceive*' and (I.1) '*traduce*' respectively, is a real and a conscious distinction for H. In some contexts the focus is in fact on the misleading of (A) without regard to any (B): thus at 8.110.1[1] Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο any notion of antagonism has disappeared, since what Themistocles has advised the Athenians is precisely to give up the pursuit and look after their household affairs, just as at 3.1.4 (passive) too when Nitetis calls Cambyses διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος because he has taken her for Amasis' daughter, nothing more than deception can be envisaged, since the ruse was adopted in order to *avoid* that Amasis μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο (2).

The one instance of the middle voice at 9.116.2 (Artayctes) λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο seems to bring into relief the subject's interest: 'got round him', 'imposed upon him'.[2]

Of five instances of the noun διαβολή that at 3.66.3[3] ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ (Smerdis) ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν explicitly specifies the aspect of sowing enmity, the one at 3.80.4 (the tyrant) φθονέει γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι has regard to the misrepresentation of a (B) to an (A) with the same objective. At 6.123.1 θῶμα ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολήν an instance of such misrepresenting is provided in the allegation, which H. finds too unaccountable to accept (121.1 θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, 124.2 οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει), that the Alcmaeonid family, notorious opponents of tyranny, could have betrayed the Athenians to the Persians, 6.115 αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς (the βάρβαροι) ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι.—On διαβολή in H. cf. LEE 1978.

ἐπαίρεις '*you are rousing*': see on 9 γ above s.v. ἐπαρθέντες.[4]

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[1] Cf. the closely parallel 5.107 Ἱστιαῖος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καί μιν ἀπίει.

[2] Cf. DE SÉLINCOURT's 'tricked him into giving it to him'.

[3] Echoed 3.73.2.

[4] Pp. 73–4.

αὐτόν '*himself*': not in explicit distinction from anyone in particular, as e.g. at θ 1 below in βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς . . . ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων,[1] but as in στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σύ further on in that sentence, implying a contrast with all others as being, in the connection at issue, of smaller concern: there 'if we are going to adopt your plan, it is for you to make it work'; here the danger of Mardonius' false intelligence about the enemy forces is that it is deceiving our highest commander.[2]

αὐτοῦ . . . τούτου (εἵνεκα) '(with a view to) *just this*', i.e. to the king's undertaking an expedition, τοῦ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι.

δέ '*and*' introduces a distinct piece of information: 'this is what you are doing; and I get the impression you are doing it intentionally'. In the present context this information happens to be superimposed on that which precedes it, which makes it easy to take οὕτω in the next exhortation, not tagged on by any coordinating device which would necessarily tie it to the present statement, as referring back to the βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι expressed in the previous statement and only implied in the present one.

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[1] Of the king also, with the word order of η, not θ, 7.119.3 αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ' ἐκείνου & 210.2 παντί τεῳ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέϊ, 8.65.3 αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ κτλ. At 7.4 αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον (βασιλεύσαντα . . . ἔτεα) is opposed to the son he has just ἀποδέξας βασιλέα. Where the word order of θ is found, a balancing phrase sometimes suggests that the noun or name preceding αὐτός could be described as stating the (new) topic or define the domain to which the focal information applies, as in 1.80.3 τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν . . . κτείνειν πάντα . . ., Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν 'as to the other Lydians, to kill every one of them who came in their way, but as for Croesus, not to kill the man himself' & 139 καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὔ 'there is this other thing that is the case with them, which the Persians themselves are not aware of, but we are', also at 6.45.1 Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ . . . Βρύγοι . . . ἐπεχείρησαν· καί σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιόν τε αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι and in the phrase at 9.119.2 ('Αρταΰκτην δεδεμένον) αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, and so here in θ 1 with ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, '(as to the king, let him stay at home,) but as for us two, let us give our sons as bail and do you then lead the army &c.'; with αὐτός coming first the effect is generally more like that which the pronoun has in the absence of a contrasting entity, as *h.l.*, of singling out one object. At 8.100.1 καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον (γινόμενον BEKKER γινόμενα STEIN) μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε partakes of both.

[2] Of the king also, with the same word order, 5.31.4 δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι and, with his proper name but without his title, 4.1.1 ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις.

πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν literally '*to extend all eagerness*', a more graphic expression than πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι in 6.2 above,[1] has been explained on the analogy of Pl. *Prot.* 338 A 5 πάντα κάλων ἐκτείναντα (οὐρίᾳ ἐφέντα) 'stretching out all the reef(ing rope), (letting go to the wind)', cf. Eur. *Med.* 278 ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἐξιᾶσι πάντα δὴ κάλων, Ar. *Equ.* 756 σε πάντα δεῖ κάλων ἐξιέναι σεαυτοῦ, but the possibility of applying the verb to stretching out one's *hands* (Aesch. *Ch.* 9 and Ar. *Eccl.* 782) or *weaponry* (Eur. *Andr.* 1131 and *Ph.* 1421), objects likewise belonging more closely to the subject, probably contributed to the extension of the metaphor to non-palpable but still more or less intrinsic objects. A similar case would be [Dem.] 60 (*Epitaphios*) 30 ἅπασαν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀγωνίαν ἐκτεῖναι.

προθυμίην '*eagerness*' is for H. (15 x) presumably still literally the forwardness of the θυμός, the inner impulse towards an object outside. For noun as well as adjective (13 x) and adverb (25 x; see note on 8 δ 1 above)[2] this object is repeatedly one of aggression when no specification is added,[3] but contrast εἶξαν 9.106.3, ἐξέλιπον 8.41.3, μένειν 9.13.1, ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι 6.5.1, μηδιζόντων 7.138.2 & ἐμήδισαν 174. Reminiscent of the wording *h.l.* is 5.13.3 ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

Of the workings of θυμός (19 x) statements are given in H. by Xerxes while he himself κάρτα ἐθυμώθη in 7.39.1 ἐν τοῖσι ὠσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιμπλέει τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει, and by Gelon at 7.160.1 ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. It manifests itself variously: as a source or form of appetite (1.1.4 φορτίων, 8.116.2 θεήσασθαι, 5.49.4 τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε; its satisfaction ἀποπιμπλάναι 2.129.2) as well as of a less favourable response (1.137.1 λογισάμενος . . . οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται & 155.3 μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, 3.36.1 ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτρεπε; hence θυμοῦσθαι).

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[1] Also 1.61.4, 4.98.3; with just ἔχειν 19.2 below, 4.139.2 and, without πᾶσαν, 53.1 below and 9.67.

[2] P. 45.

[3] It is so expressly e.g. at 7.116, 8.6.1, 9.60.3. The impetus is directed to a μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν at 5.49.8, to the death of another at 1.124.2, to στρατεύεσθαι as here, but now of the subject himself, at 1.204.1 and (adjective) 7.5.1; it is that of one τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ at 7.165. Of hunting 1.36.3. Non-military contexts include ἐξορκοῦν 6.74.1; συμβουλεύεαι 7.235.1, πυνθάνεσθαι 5.92 ζ 3 (Periander) and πυθέσθαι 2.19.2 (H.), ἐξηγέεσθαι 2.3.2 (H.); μετεπέμψατο 1.111.2, ἐδέξαο 5.18.2, πανηγυρίζουσι 2.59.1, ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα 2.173.1, and δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος 1.96.2.

It is liable to flag (8.130.3 ἑσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ) but also capable of being fortified against this (1.120.3 = 3.85.2 θάρσει . . . καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, 7.52.2 and oracles); here it invites comparison with ψυχή, which seems on the whole more endogenous, less swayed by external influences. Inasmuch as it determines our attitude towards things it may take in considerations (ἐς θυμὸν βαλέσθαι 1.84.4, 7.51.3, 8.68 γ).

νυν, an unemphatic '*now*': of the 15 instances in H. of unaccented νυν not preceded by μέν 14 occur in a directive utterance, whether with a full imperative or with a formulaic ὅρα or φέρε,[1] with an 'adhortative' subjunctive as here, or in the more covert form of 'if you *p*, you will *q*',[2] and 8 of these follow the pronoun σύ. Also below, 14 εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι & 39.1 εὖ νυν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο.

[1] 3.134.5 and 2.105 respectively.

[2] Thus 1.124.2 and 3.122.3, with another σύ νυν, here followed by an imperative, preceding (124.1) and following (122.4) respectively.

10 η 2

'διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον, ἐν τῇ δύο μέν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικέει οὐ παρεόντος κατηγορέων, ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι.'

1–5 διαβολὴ—εἶναι Stob. *Anth.* 3.42.16 2 ἀδικεῖ **d**P (*it.* 3) | παρεόντι **a** Stob.: παρεόντα S[V] 3 ἀδικαίει B

'For discrediting is a most fearsome thing, in which there are two who commit an injury and one who gets to be injured. For the one who discredits does an injustice accusing another in his absence; the other does an injustice letting himself be talked over before he has learnt the facts accurately; and the one who is absent from the conversation is obviously injured in the process, in that he is discredited by the one and held to be base by the other.'

δεινότατον ἐν τῇ '*a most fearsome thing, in which*': the juxtaposition of the neuter predicate with the relative clause formally depending on the subject makes it likely that this clause provides some motivation for the predicate, but this is hardly in the fact that there arises a situation of two against one, as VAN GRONINGEN suggests—as though an ἀδικεῖν between two parties were unobjectionable; διαβολή is especially offensive just because more people are implicated in it, and presumably because the ἀδικία is not evident.—Cf. δεινόν at α 3 above with note s.v.[1]

ἀδικέοντες, -όμενος, -έει (*bis*), -έεται '*injuring*, (being) injured, injures (*bis*), is injured': being ἄδικος and doing ἄδικα, things at odds with δίκη 'what is *appointed, assigned* (to this or that party)'.[2] Half of the 35 instances in H. mention the wronged party; the injury is or may be specified from the context at 1.112.3 δεσπότας disobeyed & 121 baby Cyrus abandoned & 196.5[3] nubile girls sold by auction; 2.160.4 a ξεῖνον not judged impartially in a contest with a fellow-citizen; 4.119.2 & 4 invading a people's land; similarly, with the aggravation of setting their sacred places on fire,[4] in 9.2 above; 35.2 below

[1] P. 83.
[2] Cf. note on δοῦναι δίκας at 5.2 above p. 3.
[3] Deleted by STEIN.
[4] Cf. 8 β 3.

of the Hellespont raising a storm destroying the king's bridge in return for nothing ἄδικον on his part, and thereby incurring a δίκη in the derivative sense of 'penalty, reprisal'. In the passive 6.87 of the Aeginetans counting themselves injured by the Athenians refusing to surrender the hostages from Aegina to the Spartan king Leutychides, 8.105.1 of Hermotimus castrated, and 9.7 α 2 & 11.1 of the Athenians betrayed by the other Greeks.

ἀδικέει οὐ **παρεόντος** κατηγορέων '(does an injustice, *accusing one*) *who is not there*' seems preferable to παρεόντα '(*injures one*) *who is not there*, accusing (sc. him)' (S and doubtfully V)[1] only, if at all, as a *lectio difficilior*, the genitive having to be understood as depending on a verb form which follows. Against this the παρεόντι of **a** (and Stobaeus), which does not yield a grammatical construction, is more easily explained as a corruption of παρεόντα, i.e. ONTAKATH into ONTIKATH.[2]

ἀναπειθόμενος '*allowing himself to be talked over*': the preverb focuses on the decisive *winning* a person *over*, which explains why the compound (24 x in H., as compared with 143 instances of the simple verb) is repeatedly found where non-verbal means of persuasion are involved, as in H. at 8.5.1 Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα . . . ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο κτλ & 3 οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν. With the medio-passive an additional contribution is to keep in view that we have an instance of transitive πείθειν, not just a virtually intransitive πείθεσθαι, as also, in another context of διαβολή quoted above s.v. διαβάλλων, at 5.97.2–3 (Aristagoras) οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισέ σφεας . . . (3) Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο κτλ.

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[1] 'finem vocis comp. notat V' ROSÉN.

[2] ABICHT's suggestion that κατηγορέων started life as a gloss explaining an original οὐ παρεόντι ἐπηγορέων is passed over in silence by both HUDE and POWELL, perhaps because they thought the required interpretation hard to reconcile with the only certain instance of this verb at 1.90.2 (Cyrus questioning Croesus) ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο (ἐπηγορεύων MSS.: corr. BREDOW ex Hsch.); yet it might be argued that the οὐ παρεῖναι actually yields a more pointed contrast with ἐπηγορεῖν ('charge . . . with' POWELL s.v. ἐπηγορεύω), which together with the pro of making sense of the reading παρεόντι balances the con of a resort to conjecture.—ROSÉN reads παρεόντι, citing 1.212.3 Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας and 3.37.2 πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε as parallels for the use of the dative with compounds in κατα-, and referring to H. Kallenberg in *Progr. Gymn. Fred.-Werd. Berol.* Pasch. 1884, 21 s.

ἀτρεκέως '*accurately, precisely*': the adverb, which in the *Iliad* accompanies καταλέγειν (6 x) and ἀγορεύειν (2 x) and in the *Odyssey* also μαντεύσομαι (ρ 154), is used by H. (42 x) with verbs of cognition (εἰδέναι 5 x,[1] (ἐξ)επίστασθαι 9 x, (δια)κρῖναι 3 x, 4.25.2 γινώσκεται) as a natural extension (cf. πυθέσθαι 3 x, (ἐκ)μαθεῖν *h.l.* & 7.208.3, 1.159.2 δηλωθῇ, 2.49.1 ἔφηνε, 4.16.2 ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι) of its use with verbs of communication (εἰπεῖν 11 x,[2] e.g. εἰπέ 47.1 below (Xerxes to Artabanus); 3.115.1 λέγειν, 4.25.1 (οἶδε) φράσαι,[3] 5.86.2 διασημῆναι, 6.14.1 συγγράψαι).

The adjective, substantivized in six of its seven[4] instances (comparative 5.54.1, superlative 7.214.2), is used similarly; with the one unimpeachable adjectival use at 7.187.1 ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν cf. Theogn. 636 ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι, Hipp. *Prog.* 20 ὅλῃσιν ἡμέρῃσιν ἀριθμεῖσθαι . . . ἀτρεκέως.

The noun does not appear to differentiate between exact *information* and the *facts* which provide its content: 4.152.3 Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν, 6.1.2 εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκείην τῆς ἀποστάσιος & 82.2 μαθεῖν . . . τὴν ἀτρεκείην ὅτι οὐκ αἱρέει τὸ Ἄργος.

ἐκμάθῃ '*has learnt fully*': in this compound in H. (24 x, as compared to 149 instances of the simple verb)[5] the preverb always has adverbial force, i.e. it is never complemented with a genitive adjunct, whether prepositional (ἀπό Aesch. *Pr.* 254, παρ' οὗ . . . σαφέστατα Soph. *OT* 285–6, ἐκ Pl. *Ax.* 371 A 5) or plain (Soph. *OT* 1438–9 τοῦ θεοῦ); the nearest thing to mentioning a source is 5.91.2 (ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι . . ., τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος) ἐκμαθήσεται ἁμαρτών. In half the instances an accusative object is specified, in a third none at all, at 3.134.2 a ὅτι-clause provides the object and at 3.119.2 (ἔμαθε(ν) **d**) a ὡς-clause.

ὁ μέν . . ., ὁ δέ . . ., ὁ **δὲ δή** '*the one . . ., the other . . ., the one . . . obviously*': the collocation δὲ δή should be considered in its relation to the preceding μέν and δέ: three parties have been said to be involved

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[1] Including BEKKER's conjecture at 4.16.1 for οἶδε ἀτρεκὲς (ὡς **a**), but excluding 4.25.1 οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι, not because of the variant mentioned below, note 3, but as taking the adverb with the infinitive at least primarily.

[2] Not counting the reading of **d** for τὸ ἀτρεκές at 9.84.1.

[3] ἀτρεκές **d**.

[4] Excluding the reading of all MSS. at 4.16.1 and of **d** at 4.25.1, but including that of all MSS. but **d** at 9.84.1, all mentioned in the preceding notes.

[5] For which see 9 γ above.

in an ἀδικεῖν; for two of these their connection with this ἀδικία has now been specified, so it is *obvious* that the third will now form the topic; moreover it turns out that the following comments partly restate the preceding ones from the complementary, passive point of view.—Cf. on δή at 8 β 1 above.[1]

αὐτοῖσι 'in the process': see on 8 γ 1 above s.v.[2]

νομισθείς '*held, taken*': the original force of νομίζειν (125 x in H.) 'to have as a custom, convention, in regular use' is preserved most clearly in constructions of the verb with a single accusative (22 x);[3] objects in H. include speech (1.142.3 & 4.183.4 γλῶσσαν '(a) tongue' νενομίκασι, 2.42.4 φωνὴν '(a) voice' νομίζοντες) in the sense of a dialect, gods (4.59.1)[4] and appellations of gods (2.4.2 θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας . . . νομίσαι, 7.192.2 Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες), naming oneself after one's mother (1.173.4), some form of law and justice (4.106 οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι), a ritual assembly which consists in coming to blows (2.63.4 πανήγυριν . . . νομίσαι . . . πληγὴν . . . νενομικέναι), weapons (5.97.1 οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι), and unspecified ethnic customs (2.51.1 Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι). The connection with νόμος[5] is explicitly operative at 1.140.3 ἀμφὶ . . . τῷ νόμῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη as well as at 4.59.1 & 106 quoted above. The usage with a dative object, perhaps assimilated to χρᾶσθαι, i.e. 'deal, have to do with, use regularly', is first attested by three instances, all present tense, in H.: 2.50.3 νομίζουσι δ' ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν, 4.63 ὑσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι & 117 φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ.

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[1] P. 28. According to C.J. Ruijgh δή is used to 'draw attention' to the addition of another, third party after the second.

[2] P. 36.

[3] Powell s.v. II. 2.

[4] 4.59.1 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διάκειται· θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται . . . τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι.

[5] Cf. νόμον τόνδε at 8 α 1 above.

10 θ 1

'ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην τινὰ βούλεαι.'

1 δεῖ δὴ γε CP: δὴ (η Dᶜ) γε δεῖ **d** | πάντας C | στρατεύσασθαι RSV 3 παραβαλομένων DP | στρατηλατέεται C | τε om. C 4 θέλεις B | βούλεται C

'No, if it is indeed necessary by all means to have an expedition against these men, well, then let the King himself dwell in the abodes of the Persians, and do you yourself, both of us staking our children, lead an army having chosen men to join you that you feel inclined to, and taking with you any army of whatever size you please'.

ἀλλ' '*no,* . . .' marks a switch from the undesirable sequence of Mardonius' διαβάλλειν followed by αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι (η 1) to Artabanus' alternative proposal for στρατεύεσθαι, or in other words from the virtual or actual negatives παῦσαι and μὴ . . . γένηται (η 1) to the positive μενέτω.—Cf. note on ἀλλ' at 5.2 above.[1]

(εἰ . . .) γε '*that is, (if* . . .*)*': see on β 1 above s.v.[2]

φέρε, in origin a second person singular imperative '*come on with it*', is used in apposition to injunctions in the first (adhortative subjunctives) and third (imperatives) persons as well as in the second, and with plural[3] as well as singular number. The only other instance in H. with third person is at the end of Artabanus' next speech 16 γ 3 φέρε . . . φανήτω.

αὐτός 'himself' first in βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς . . . ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων contrasts the king with the king's men, but then in στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σύ sets Mardonius apart not from anyone in particular but from all others as being, in the connection at issue, of less concern. Artabanus in effect tells him to carry out his own plan himself: 'if we are going

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[1] P. 4.
[2] Pp. 88–9.
[3] With first person subjunctive 1.97.3 φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα, as against 4.115.3 φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν and 6.12.3 φέρετε τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ.

to adopt your plan, it is for you to make it work'. See on η 1 above s.v. αὐτόν.[1]

ἤθεσι: this noun, in H. plural in all its 19 instances,[2] denotes what is customary to a community of humans or species of animal,[3] and may cover both their dwelling-places and the way they live in these.

παραβαλλομένων '*staking, hazarding, placing in jeopardy*': the use of the middle[4] voice of this verb (literally to '*throw in besides*') here and at 1.108.4 . . . μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ κτλ, with which cf. Thuc. 1.133 ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν . . . παραβάλοιτο, appears to contain a metaphor which might conceivably have been derived from the use of scales, but which other contexts prove to be more probably derived from that of dice. The most explicit one is Xen. *Cyr.* 2.3.11 τὰ μὲν ἆθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἴσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἴσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἴμεν, ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἔντιμον . . . βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ κτλ, followed by Thuc. 2.44.3 οἳ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν, 3.14.1 ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους, κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθῶσαι ὠφελίαν ἅπασι δώσοντας, and 5.113 Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλεῖστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλεῖστον καὶ σφαλήσεσθε.—The move of involving his offspring is the strongest pragmatic means of persuasion available to Artabanus: it both proves to Xerxes' eyes his own disinterested and serious concern, and entitles him to challenge Mardonius to commit himself equally, by the token which is the most apt to give him pause.

στρατηλάτεε '*lead an army*': see on 5.2 s.v. στρατηλάτεε.[5]

ἐπιλεξάμενος '*having chosen*', in the middle voice sc. *to join one(self)*, as at 3.157.3 ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε, 6.73.2 ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας . . . ἦγον, 7.205.2 ἤιε . . . ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας, 8.22.1 νέας . . . ἐπιλεξάμενος . . . ἐπορεύετο. Contrast active ἐπιλέξας with ἀπέπεμπε

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[1] P. 130 and note 1.

[2] Including 2.142.4 ἐξ ἠθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι suspected by POWELL s.v. 2.

[3] At 2.93.2 and 7.125, as it always does in Homer.

[4] The active and passive instances in H. are 2.154.2 παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι of Psammetichus putting Egyptian children into the *company* of Ionian and Carian ones in order to have them learn Greek, 4.198.1 παραβληθῆναι of Libya as not sustaining a *comparison* with Asia (Minor) or Europe, and intransitive 7.179 παρέβαλε of Xerxes' fleet *crossing* to Sciathus.

[5] P. 6.

3.44.2 of Polycrates & 49.2 of Periander each picking soldiers not with a view to their accompanying himself, cf. 5.70.2 κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων, and 3.81.3 of a political election in the context of the debate over the best constitution.

στρατιὴν **ὁκόσην τινὰ** βουλέαι '*any . . . of whatever size* you please', as at 6.107.4 ὁκόσον[1] δέ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, though POWELL s.v. ὁκόσος 2 classes that instance as 'rel.', ours as 'indef.'; by contrast at 2.126.1 (πρήσσεσθαι) ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι is a pronominal phrase which does not constitute the subject or object of another finite verb: 'elliptic' POWELL *ib.* Conceivable grounds for calling these uses of τις 'expletive' (POWELL s.v. τις III.1) are that (1) omitting it in translation would not yield syntactically incomplete English sentences, as here 'whatever size of army you please', and (2) omitting it would not yield unconstruable Greek sentences, as here *λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην βουλέαι, cf. 1.187.2 λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται χρήματα, but this should not be taken to imply that τις in these contexts is either optional or meaningless. It is not found where no other than quantitative distinctions are envisaged; the explanation of its presence at 2.126.1 and absence at 1.187.2 is perhaps that the χρήματα purportedly laid up in Nitocris' tomb were an indistinct mass all at one place, the ἀργύριον charged by Cheops' daughter a discrete portion and, though not known exactly to H., a fixed price repeatedly paid.—Cf. πάντα τινά at 8 δ 1 above with note s.v.[2]

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[1] ὅσον **d**.
[2] P. 45.

10 θ 2

'καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέϊ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἢν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς.'

1 ἀναβαίνει C[1]SV: ἀναβαίνειν R: ἀποβαίνῃ Cobet 2 ἐγὼ om. SV

'And so, if matters take their course for the King in the way you say, let my sons be put to death and I by their side; but if in the way I foretell, let yours suffer this fate, and together with them you too, if you return home.'

καὶ (ἢν μέν . . .) '(and) *also*', '—*in addition*': the two men will not just make the lives of their own offspring dependent on the outcome of the expedition, but moreover (1) Artabanus' sons will die if the expedition *succeeds*, and (2) the fathers are to die with their sons. Before καί a semi-colon is perhaps a more appropriate punctuation mark than a full stop: some specification of just what kind of guarantee Artabanus has in mind seems to be owing, both to Xerxes and Mardonius and to the public of H. The adverbial and the coordinating use of καί form part of a continuous scale.—Cf. 11.1, 12.1 & 18.1 below with notes s.v.[1]

ἢν μέν . . . ἀναβαίνῃ . . . ἢν δέ . . .: '*if . . . take their course . . . but if . . .*': for the use of the subjunctive in '*resumptive if*-clauses', 'the main function' of which 'is to introduce an utterance of some other person or to refer to an actual situation' see Wakker 1994, pp. 127–8.[2]

ἀναβαίνῃ, literally 'step *up*', hence 'shoot *up; mount, rise, ascend*', differs from ἀποβαίνειν, which would be unremarkable here, in focusing less on the outcome than on the way leading up to it. If it carried overtones of going from strength to strength, which is doubtful in view of Xen. *Ath.* 2.17 ἂν μέν τι κακὸν ἀναβαίνῃ ἀπὸ ὧν ὁ δῆμος

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[1] Pp. 154 & 178 & 272 respectively.

[2] P. 128 note 14: '. . . the futural subjunctive is sometimes used in εἰ-clauses in which old information is reintroduced . . . . In this way the speaker indicates that he regards realization of the S[tate]o[f]A[ffairs] concerned as very well possible, cf. e.g. Hdt. 7.10.θ2, where Artabanus presents the future realization as "very well possible" in order to be polite to Mardonius and especially to Xerxes. As is apparent from the drift of his argument, however, he is in reality very sceptical. He may also be ironical or even sarcastic here, as may be inferred from the main clause κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, which he does not, of course, want to happen.'

ἐβούλευσεν . . ., ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθόν κτλ,[1] then these would be appropriate only to the μέν clause and the verb could be supplied to the δέ clause only by a form of zeugma.[2]

προλέγω '*say beforehand*', i.e. before the *event*: '*foretell*',[3] except 6.122.1 τὰ προλελεγμένα 'what was recounted before', sc. by H.—Cf. note on προαγόρευε at δ 1 above.[4]

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[1] ἀποβαίνῃ Voss, as *h.l.* COBET.

[2] On the period as a whole cf. MÜLLER 1980, pp. 99–100.

[3] In H. also 1.53.3 and 8.136.3; at 4.125.4, where the event predicted is in the hands of those who predict it, one might prefer to translate 'announce' or 'proclaim'.

[4] Pp. 107–8.

10 θ 3

'εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἤ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἤ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα.'

2 ἀνέξεις (ἀνέξῃς S) **d**: ἄξεις Naber | ἀκούσασθαί **d** 3 ἐξεργασμένον **a** 4 διαφορευόμενον **d**

'And if you are not going to find it in yourself to undertake this, and yet you will in any case lead up an expedition against Hellas, then I declare that some one of those left behind here at this very spot will hear of Mardonius, after having wrought a great harm to the Persians, being carried off in different directions by dogs and birds, either somewhere in the earth of the Athenians or, you in person, in that of the Lacedaemonians, if not indeed even earlier along the way, after having had the opportunity to discern against what kind of men you are lecturing the King to undertake an expedition.'

εἰ **δέ** . . . '*And* if' makes Artabanus' prediction (φημι) in θ 3 formally balance his compound exhortation (φέρε) of θ 1 (μενέτω . . . στρατηλάτεε) to 2 (κτεινέσθων . . . πασχόντων) introduced by ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε, but the second member (. . . σὺ δὲ . . . ἀνάξεις) of the conditional clause shows that the hypothesis underlying this exhortation is still in force: the pattern of θ 1 to 3 is 'if *p* is inevitable, then let's have *q*; but if you don't accept *q*, yet insist on *p*, then I tell you . . .', distinguishing varieties remaining within the condition of πάντως στρατεύεσθαι (θ 1), πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάγειν (θ 3). The present second complex proposition takes account of the possibility that Mardonius disregards the appeal made to him in the first; there is no discussion of real alternatives[1]—Cf. on 16 γ 2 below s.vv. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν κτλ and δέ.[2]

μέν . . . δέ '(not *p*), *yet* (*q*)': unlike ἀλλά this coordination does not specify the relation between the coordinated members; all that is implied is that there are two such members which there is reason

[1] This last point appears to plead against rendering δέ here as '*But*', as suggested by C.J. Ruijgh.
[2] Pp. 251 & 252 respectively.

to consider separately from each other. In this instance one proposition contained in the preceding context is now taken to be negatived and another is not.[1]

ὑποδύνειν, literally '*to dive down under*', is used by H. (I) with prepositional complements (ὑπό + acc.), of putting oneself under a yoke (ζεύγλην 1.31.2: Cleobis & Biton) or cover (πίλους 4.75.1), (II) with a direct object, (i) of putting on one piece of clothing under another (κιθῶνας . . . τοῖσι εἵμασι 1.155.4) and (ii) of taking upon oneself such figurative burdens as danger, war, and leadership,[2] and (III) with an infinitive complement, of giving satisfaction (ποινὴν τείσειν 7.134.2). Despite its resemblance to (II.ii) in surface structure, (II.i) is the exception in presupposing a transitive use of the underlying simple verb δύνειν, with the preverb ὑπο- relating to the dative complement εἵμασι. The other instances show the familiar pattern of preverb ὑπο- recurring as preposition ὑπό in the concrete, spatial uses under (I) but not in the others; the relation of (III) to (II.ii) is brought out by an alternative analysis as accusative object (ποινὴν) followed by epexegetic infinitive (τείσειν): '. . . willingly took upon themselves a reparation, to pay (this)'.

οὐκ, not μή, just as in several other contexts where one *hypothesis* is stated in several clauses, the first of which happens to be negative and a later one is not, e.g. the close parallel of 6.9.4 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται and 16 γ 2 below, where see note s.v. εἰ.[3] 'Say you will not . . . . and will . . .: I affirm that in that case . . .'. This is different from a proper *conditional* clause '*unless* you . . .', which would require μή, cf. 7.157.2 ἢν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν . . ., οἱ δὲ μὴ . . ., τὸ δὲ . . .· τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ κτλ 'if some of us do this, and others fail to do that, and . . .: *then* there is a danger of . . .', where a scenario is considered which depends on three distinct conditions, one of them negative.[4]— Cf. on εἰ . . . οὐ at 9.2 above.[5]

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[1] Translating 'yet' rather than 'but' is not intended to suggest an opposition of content but to take account of the fact that the δέ premise is affirmed as it was before, whereas the μέν proposition is now denied, as it was not before: more explicitly 'not *p*, but *still q*'.

[2] κίνδυνον 3.69.2 (*syn.* ἀναλαβέσθαι), πόλεμον 4.120.4, and ἡγεμονίην 6.2.1 (*ass.* ὑποδεξάμενος).

[3] Pp. 251–2. Cf. also Goodwin § 387.

[4] Note that at 7.157.2 the second member of the ἤν-clause has οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν.

[5] Pp. 53–4.

σύ '*you*', like οἱ at 6.9.4 quoted in the previous note, does not serve 'um die Identität des Subjekts für beide Sätze hervorzuheben' (KG I 656–7), since the subject, as the authors admit, is 'durchaus nicht zweifelhaft'. It serves to mark a topic shift which might have passed unnoticed precisely because it does not coincide with a change of grammatical subject: 'if *that* is *not* what you . . ., but you *do* . . .'; cf. below on σέ. This squares with our interpretation of ἐθέλειν, cf. note below.

θελήσεις '*will find it in yourself*': cf. on 16 γ 1 s.v. ἐθέλει below.[1] The point of the verb is not to stress a condition that Mardonius should *willingly* agree to Artabanus' proposal, since Artabanus doubts that Mardonius will survive in any case—openly, as is seen in the clause ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς which precedes immediately. It is precisely that *no matter whether* he is up to looking death in the face now, he cannot, if he persists in his vainglorious designs, escape his doom.

στράτευμα denotes an instance of στρατεύεσθαι 'making a military expedition'. The context may specify whether the instantiation is envisaged under its palpable aspect (*army*) or its immaterial one (*expedition*); thus at 8.1 above the verb phrase ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι to which it supplies the object suggests an abstract interpretation, whereas *h.l.* ἀνάξεις points to a concrete reference. A similar account applies to στόλος at 16 β 1 below, where see note s.v.[2]

ἀνάξεις 'will lead *up*': the compound, as distinct from simple (στράτευμα μή) ἄγειν found in 12.2 below, often specifies taking the object either (1) 'to a higher place' (e.g. 4.79.5 ἀναγαγὼν . . . ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε), esp. *inland* (e.g. 2.115.1 τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν κτλ, 6.119.1 τοὺς δέ . . . ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα) or (2) 'to sea' (e.g. 7.100.3 τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, 9.96.1 (the Greeks) ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. . . . οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι . . . ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας), hence *overseas* (e.g. 1.94.7 on the Lydians upon their arrival in Umbria changing their name into Tyrsenoi after the son of the king ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε). Here both connotations are appropriate, to the Persian army and fleet respectively.

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[1] P. 248. Cf. also on θέλει at δ 2 above pp. 110–12 and on ἐθέλειν at 16 α 1 below p. 220.

[2] P. 236.

POWELL's heading '2. *lead forth* to colony, conquest' for 1.94.7 and *h.l.* is not needed to accommodate the former, and hardly applies to the present instance, which does not confirm any suggestion of success that might be read into ἀναβαίνῃ in θ 2 above, where see note s.v.[1]

τινά '*some one*': the indefinite expression adds a touch of restraint which only increases the sinister force of the prediction, verified in 9.63.2 (ἀπέθανε) & 84.1 (ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο).

φημι '*I declare*', as if to say 'take my word for it': cf. on β 1 above and on 16 β 1 below s.v. φῄς.[2]

αὐτοῦ '*at the very spot*' accompanies τῇδε 'this side', '*here*', in all but one of its five[3] instances in H., all in speeches, conveying that the specification of place is complete and will not e.g. be contrasted with a ταύτῃ, and so underlining the force of a verb referring to some sort of continued presence. The exception is an attributive use at 9.48.1 τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων. It accompanies ταύτῃ in 12 of its 56 literal uses in H.: thus at 42.2 below καὶ πρῶτα μέν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἴδῃ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεσπίπτουσι καί τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὅμιλον διέφθειραν,[4] but not at 1.84.3, where ἀπότομος . . . ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος is followed by τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος . . ., τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον. However, αὐτοῦ is found in contexts involving a more complex contrast: with topic shift at 3.77.3 οἱ δὲ . . . τούτους μὲν . . . αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤισαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, with change of object 6.30.1 τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα, and with different subject as well as object 4.80.5 καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν.

ὑπολειπομένων '*left behind*: the compound distinguishes itself from the simple verb mostly by its tendency to be used in passive forms (22 out of 29 x); the preverb could be taken to relate to the use of the

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[1] Pp. 140–1.
[2] Pp. 85 & 236 respectively.
[3] Not counting the two epigrams of 7.228.1–2. The others are 7.141.2 and 9.11.1 with μένειν and 5.19.1 with προσμένειν.
[4] Cf. 1.189.4 διέτριψαν & 210.1 τελευτήσειν & 214.3 διεφθάρη, 3.25.2 ὑπομένειν, 4.84.2 ἀποσφαγέντες ἐλείποντο & 135.1 κατέλιπε, 5.112.2 ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει, 6.16.1 κατέλιπον.

preposition ὑπό + gen. with the passive, rather than to make any very distinct lexical addition. But perhaps here too it stresses the literal and local application,[1] as it appears to do in the one active instance 4.143.3 ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι ταῦτά μιν εἴπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα '. . . but at the time he (just) left him behind, as commander of &c.', rather than 'left him *to be* the commander of &c.', which would not have made for an equally effective contrast with 'in speaking these words among the Persians he honoured him', and in at least three of the four[2] or five[3] transitive middle voice instances, 1.207.7 (*opp.* ἐξαναχωρέειν), 2.25.3 (περὶ ἑωυτόν, *opp.* ἀποπέμπεσθαι), and 8.24.1 ὑπολιπόμενος (subject Xerxes, object the fraction of the Thermopylae dead whom he left without burial for his naval forces to see).[4]

ἐξεργασάμενον '*having executed,—wrought*' 9 x in H. has the same construction with accusatives of the affected party and of the effect as ἐργασαμένους in 5.2 and πεποιήκασι in 8 β 1 and ἔρξας in 8 β 3 above, cf. ἐποίησαν in 5.2. The preverb makes explicit that this is the final account at which the case rests, which would not have been appropriate at 5.2 where a redress is devised. Cf. 1.45.2 (Croesus to Adrastus) ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, which admits of no redress, and 8.75.2 (Themistocles' message to the Medes) παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας

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[1] Possibly, as C.J. Ruijgh suggests, the basic notion is one of a stack of which, after the upper part has been removed, the lower part is left behind.

[2] The fourth is at 6.7, where in τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν . . . it may be implied that the ships have to be moved in order to be manned; or there may be an anticipation of their sailing mentioned immediately after in . . . πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην κτλ.

[3] Depending on whether one includes 4.121 τὰ πρόβατα πάντα πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι τὰ ἄλλα . . . προέπεμψαν, where **d** (of which V by a correction) and P have an improbable ἀπολιπόμενοι (and B has ὑπολειπόμενοι).

[4] At 1.165.2 τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου 'on that part of them which failed to join their expedition' the compound presumably applies because they do not just drop behind or fall short of the others in spite of doing their part, but remain *where they are* and do not begin to move; contrast 7.168.4 where the Cercyreans pretend after sailing out to have been detained by the winds and so λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας, and 8.113.2 (Hydarnes) οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος, implying that he 'would follow him wherever he went'. If this is correct, then the explanation of the simple verb in 9.19.1 οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἑάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου [Λακεδαιμονίων], where a literal ὑπολείπεσθαι would apply, is presumably that such inaction is here considered as falling short of a moral standard: cf. the valuations implied in ἀμείνω and ἐδικαίευν.

ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι referring to a decisive coup. In passive e.g. 9.75 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον of a feat remaining on someone's record,[1] and in a more or less idiomatic expression 'when all was done' ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι e.g. 4.164.3 μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὸν τοῦτο.[2] In one context the compound succeeds the simple verb: at 3.127.3 ὃς ὠφέλησε μέν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν . . ., τοῦτο δέ . . . relates what Oroetes has made himself answerable for so far; the continuation πρίν τι ὦν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακόν carries the overtone of 'before it's *too late*'.[3]

κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων '*dogs and birds*': H.&W. point out that this is a disgrace to a Greek, not to Persians. They refer to 9.83.2 for the Greek, and to 1.140.1–2 for the Persian custom. At 8.24.1 referred to above s.v. ὑπολειπομένων Xerxes is seeing the majority of his casualties buried for pragmatic reasons.

διαφορεύμενον literally '*carried* off *in different directions*', elsewhere in H. of χρήματα 1.88.3,[4] of Corinthus' father Periander's house (οἶκον) 3.53.3; of livestock as *h.l.* Eur. *Bacch.* 739, 746, 1210, by birds Ar. *Av.* 338.

κου might be (1) '*somewhere*' and it might be (2) '*perhaps*'; the adjunct of place[5] slightly favours (1), the disjunction[6] just as slightly favours (2). It is possible to consider that ἤ κου . . . ἤ on interpretation (2) is strictly speaking pleonastic, a contamination of 'either A or B' and 'perhaps A (or B)', but that would not rule out the interpretation. On either reading it is indicated that the speaker is only making surmises about the locality; and in general the range from 'somewhere',

[1] Cf. 3.65.3 (Cambyses) ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπαναστaίη ἀνθρώπων & 5 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληίων τόν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις, contrasting an irreparable crime first with the false security won by it and then with the sequel it has not been able to prevent.

[2] Also at 8.94.4 and 9.77.1.

[3] At 2.114.3 ὅστις κοτέ ἐστι ⟨ὁ⟩ ἀνόσια ἐξεργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ there is a variant ἐργασμένος in **a** which has nothing to recommend it.

[4] διαφθορέει **d**.

[5] Cf., with an adjunct of time, 12.1 below καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτί.

[6] Cf. the oracle in 141.4 below, vs. 12 ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

implying 'I don't know *where* it is', to 'perhaps', implying 'I don't know *if* it is there', may be conceived as continuous.—Cf. on 8 β 3 above and 12.1 below s.v.[1]

σέ γε '*I'm talking about you*', '*I mean you*': there is no change either of syntax or in the person referred to, but there is a progressive highlighting of the topic: Artabanus introduces a vague τινα only as hearing a report which turns out to be about Mardonius, and ends with a near-apostrophe to Mardonius himself, as if calling on him to step forward out of the rumour of which he was but the third person subject (ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι . . . Μαρδόνιον . . . διαφορεύμενον).[2] Cf. on σύ above.

εἰ μὴ **ἄρα** '*if it does not turn out*': the particle in this not fully explicit clause serves to invite the hearer to accept a proposition as natural and plausible in its context.[3] It remains near to Homeric uses in clauses interpreted as causal such as A 56 κήδετο γὰρ Δανάων ὅτι ῥα θνῄσκοντας ὁρᾶτο & 94–6 ἀλλ' ἕνεκ' ἀρητῆρος ὃν ἠτίμησ' Ἀγαμέμνων . . . τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος . . . where the particle is equally at home in what have come to be analysed as the subordinate clause giving the reason and as the independent clause expressing the consequence respectively. By contrast at 16 γ 1 below εἰ δὲ ἄρα μή + ind. and 9 γ above εἰ δὲ ἄρα + opt.[4] the use of the particle, calling explicit attention to the hypothetical nature of the alternatives introduced, approaches more nearly to Attic uses in persuasion and argument. Cf. Van Ophuijsen 1993, pp. 128–9.

καί '*even*' marks πρότερον (κατ' ὁδόν) 'sooner, earlier (on, along the, your way)' as adding up to a proposition which goes a step further than that made up by ἤ κου . . . Λακεδαιμονίων.—Cf. καί at 11.1 below with note s.v.[5]

γνόντα: a translation '*having judged, decided*' preserves the ambivalence of the verb between (1) cognitive discernment and (2) the mental act

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[1] Pp. 34 & 179 respectively.
[2] Cf. KG I 656–8 no. 2. C.J. Ruijgh, to whom we owe this reference, paraphrases: 'Yes, I am still talking about *you*'.
[3] Differently C.J. Ruijgh, who interprets '*if not—to your (unpleasant) surprise—* . . .'; cf. in that respect the conclusion of Wakker 1994, p. 350, quoted in footnote 2 to the note on εἰ . . . ἄρα at 9 γ above p. 72.
[4] Where see notes pp. 242 and 72 s.v. εἰ δὲ ἄρα and εἰ . . . ἄρα respectively.
[5] P. 154.

of adopting a course of action; cf. on 8 δ 2 above s.v. γνώμην.[1] The continuity between (1) and (2) is seen in such aorist instances as 9.71.3 γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν . . ., Ποσειδώνιον δὲ . . .· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω, 7.143.3 ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων & 15.2 μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο & 3.4 χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε: a resolution in these terms is something like a recognition of objective fact.[2]

The application of the present stem formed by means of the suffix -σκ- 'exprimant la réalisation du procès par efforts répétés'[3] is understandably by and large confined to (1), though (2) is very probably operative in 9.2.2 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, and arguably in 3.81.2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιέει γινώσκων[4] ποιέει, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὃς οὔτ' ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν [οὐδ'] οἰκήιον ὠθέει τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἴκελος;

The force of the suffix may perhaps be read into most instances of the verb in H.,[5] at least in the weaker form of reference to customary[6] behaviour, as in 2.50.2 τῶν δὲ οὔ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ

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[1] P. 49.

[2] Cf. 6.52.3 (Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεῦσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβυτέρον ποιήσασθαι·) οὐκ ὦν δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἕλωνται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. (4) τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν, where the contextual relation with the compound (note οὐδέ) shows that 'telling, knowing' A from B applies just as much as coming to a decision, choice. The change from the aorist of the simple verb to the present tense of the compound is precisely explained by the fact that this notion of διαγινώσκειν constitutes old information.

[3] Chantraine s.v. The preceding words are '. . . présent à redoublement et à suffixe -σκω'. C.J. Ruijgh points out that the basic meaning of reduplication appears to have been 'repetition' (cf. Schwyzer p. 646) and that of -σκ- 'step by step' (cf. *ibidem* p. 707 n. 1 "ruckweise sich vollziehende Vorgänge"), and that γιγνώσκω is an amalgam of *γίγνωμι (~ βίβημι) and γνώσκω (Epirotan; cf. Lat. *gnosco*; ~ βάσκω).

[4] E.g. '(while) exercising his discretion'.

[5] It is especially easily compatible with a negative clause such as 2.32.6 φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων or a phrase such as 2.33.2 ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος.

[6] Cf. 4.27 γινώσκονται μὲν . . ., τὸ δὲ . . . νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν.

οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι.[1] At 2.31 μέχρι μέν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος . . . τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι might seem to refer to simple acquaintance, 'is known', but a comparable instance later in the same context specifies the cognizing subject in a prepositional adjunct πρός + gen. 'by',[2] suggesting a more dynamic 'is taken cognizance of'.[3]

ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας '*against what kind* (or *mettle*)[4] *of men*' resuming β 1 οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες . . . ἄλκιμοι and η 1 Ἑλλήνων . . . ἀκούειν, succinctly answers Mardonius' expansive disparagement of these men in 9 α 1 (τί δείσαντες;) to γ (πολέμια).

ἀναγινώσκεις (στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα) '*are lecturing*' resumes διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις (βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι) in η 1 above.—Cf. ἀναπειθόμενος in η 2 above with note s.v.[5]

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[1] Similarly 2.16.1 εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου & 120.3 εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, 4.76.5 οὔ φασί μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν (Anacharsis) & 110.2 πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρᾶσθαι κτλ.

[2] The reference is to 2.34.1 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἴστρος . . . πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν. The same pattern in 4.45.1 ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκομένη . . . εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστι· μήκεϊ δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας [Libya and Asia, 4.42.1] παρήκουσα, resumed 45.4 ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστι γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων. Cf. 4.25.1 μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι with the experiential foundation ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδείς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει & 2 τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἠῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεομένη, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων & least explicitly 56 κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς ὃ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης.

[3] For the continuity within the use of the present stem cf. 3.68.4 ἡ δέ (Phaedymia) οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν· . . . ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων· Εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις. . ., where 'effort' might apply, and πάντως γὰρ δή κου τόν γε ἑωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει (Atossa), where only repetition does; also 4.111.1 (οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα·) οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, where the first of the three accusative objects is more easily compatible with a strong interpretation of the suffix than the other two are. Note that the imperfect clauses create a demand for the solution provided in the aorist clause καὶ οὕτως ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας.

[4] A favourable connotation is of course suggested by the context, but also by the fact that οἵους may preserve more of its exclamatory origin than English '*what* (kind of)' can convey.

[5] P. 134.

Second speech of Xerxes (11)

11.1

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· ‘Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἶς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω.’

1 μὲν] δὲ SV | τοῖσδε L[C] 2 Ἀρτάβανε om. C 3 τοι om. A[1] 3–4 προτίθημι **a** 4 τε om. **a**P 5 δὲ om. D | καὶ om. R

That is what Artabanus said, and Xerxes, enraged, replied with the following words: ‘Artabanus, you are the brother of my father: this will save you so as not to receive any requital you deserve for your idle words. Also I impose this dishonour on you, as you are a coward lacking spirit, of not joining me in my expedition against Hellas but staying here with the women. As for me, I shall bring to completion just what I have said without you too.’

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα **ἔλεξε** ‘*That is what Artabanus said*’: on the vexed question of the aspectual use of verbs of speaking in opening and closing direct speech in the whole passage 8–18 (ἔλεγε 8.1, 9.1, 10.1, ἔλεξε 11.1, ἔλεγε 13.1, 14, 15.1, 16.1, εἶπε 17.1, λέγει 18.1) see most recently Dik 1995, Chapter 6 *Four Manners of Speaking*, pp. 135–206.[1]

θυμωθείς, roughly ‘*incensed, enraged*’, more precisely indulging in or overcome by the workings of one’s θυμός, an organ and/or faculty of the living[2] human or animal which has rather diverse manifestations ascribed to it by H. (19 x),[3] ranging from (I) an expressly favourable one in the sphere of courage and confidence in θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν (1.120.3)[4] and μηδὲ τοῦτο

[1] She does not discuss εἴπας 8 δ 2, ἀμείβεται 11.1, ἐλέγετο 12.1, εἰπεῖν 12.1, εἴπαντα 13.1, εἴπας 16.1 & 17.1, λεχθέντων 18.4. For ἔλεγε in 8.1 see p. 144, in 15.1 p. 168, in 16.1 pp. 145 & 163, for ἔλεξε in 11.1 p. 151. The remaining instances are listed in an appendix pp. 172–206. Cf. also Beck 1971, p. 11.

[2] Contrast the ψυχή which survives him or it.

[3] Including two lines in oracles, at 5.56.1 τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ and 7.140.3 κακοῖς δ’ ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν, and the variants περὶ θυμῶι of P and περιθυμῶ(ι) of **a** for (τέλος δέ μιν) περιθύμως ἔχων at 3.50.3.

[4] Without τε and with εἵνεκεν 3.85.2.

φοβέο ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν κτλ (7.52.2) via (II) neutral ones in the fields of (i) appetite in διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι τὸν θυμόν (2.129.2)[1] and σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι (8.116.2) and of (ii) cognition in ἰδὼν . . . ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο (1.84.4) and ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος (7.51.3)[2] to (III) the implicitly less favourable specialisation into something like anger which underlies all instances of the verb in H. (10 x, all but one[3] of them applying to Orientals, and all but one[4] of these despotic rulers)[5] as well as most uses in other authors. The proximity of two to a modern analytical mind rather different uses in one context at 7.51.3–52.2 suggests that Greek speakers felt the concept to be basically unitary. The continuity of (III) with (II) appears from several contexts, most explicitly 7.39.1 κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας (. . .); εὖ νῦν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο ὡς ἐν τοῖσι ὠσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλέει τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει & 160.1 ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. The continuity between (II) and (I) appears from 5.49.4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι . . .· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε and 8.130.3 κατὰ μέν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἑσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν τὸν Μαρδόνιον, and where a more or less considered and controlled exercise of physical aggression is envisaged, as at 1.137.1 (μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν μήτε μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν, ἀλλὰ) λογισάμενος ἢν εὑρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑποργημάτων οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται.[6]—Cf. on ψυχή *ad* 16 α 2 s.v. τὴν ψυχὴν and on προθυμίη *ad* 10 η 1 s.v. προθυμίην.[7]

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[1] Similarly 1.1.4.

[2] Similarly 8.68 γ.

[3] 3.52.5 Periander to his son Lycophron σὺ δὲ μαθὼν . . . ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι.

[4] 5.33.4 of Darius' and Artaphernes' cousin Megabates being θυμωθείς by the words of Aristagoras.

[5] Cambyses 3 x (3.1.5 & 32.4 & 34.3), Xerxes another four times (7.39.1 & 210.1 & 238.2, 9.111.5).

[6] Similarly 155.3 μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσῃς and 3.36.1 (34.5 ὁ Καμβύσης, 35.5 Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοισι δυώδεκα ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέῳ ἑλὼν ζώοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.) ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιεῦντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοισίδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι· ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτρεπε ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τοι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθίη· σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέῳ ἑλών, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας.

[7] Pp. 231 & 131-2 respectively.

Ἀρτάβανε: thus Artabanus is addressed by Xerxes in 15.1 & 47.1 & 50.1 & 52.1 below.

μηδένα '*not*... *any*': the classification under 'Häufung der Negationen.—Überflüssige Negation.' (KG II 203–23: of this sentence 209 Anm. 7) seems more indisputable at 1.86.2 εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι, though even there an alternative account as 'will save him from being burnt alive (τοῦ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι), which is undesirable or worth being saved from (μή)' is conceivable. *H.l.* it applies if it is taken for granted that here too the infinitive (λαβεῖν) represents a *separative* complement[1] in some deep structure. Alternative analyses, in addition to one on the lines of that given for 1.86.2, might be as an *epexegetic* infinitive specifying the content or implications of σε ῥύσεται in the form of μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν or a virtual *consecutive* infinitive without ὥστε, cf. Eur. *HF* 197 ἄλλοις τὸ σῶμα ῥύεται μὴ κατθανεῖν,[2] or perhaps with the accusative-cum-infinitive as a whole serving as complement, 'will preserve your not taking the wages you deserve for your silly talk'.

μισθόν '*recompense, requital*' in H. (5 x[3] out of 23) and in tragedy (LSJ s.v. II.2)[4] may denote a quid pro quo in the case of disapproved as well as of acclaimed performance; presumably, judging from general, esp. early usage combined with etymology (see CHANTRAINE s.v.), by an originally ironical transference rather than in virtue of a neutral basic value.

ματαίων '*idle*': cf. on 10 η 1 above s.v. ματαίους.[5]

ἐπέων '*things spoken, words*', as above in 3.2 πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι & below 13.2 ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπεα & 15.1 εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα,[6] both phrases used by Xerxes of the very words he is speaking *h.l.*, & 14 τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα (those of Xerxes' dream).

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[1] Cf. 1.87.1 ῥύσασθαί μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, 5.49.3 and 9.90.2 ἐκ δουλοσύνης & 76.2 δουλοσύνης without preposition (δουλωσύνην C).

[2] Similarly *Or.* 599 εἰ μὴ ὁ κελεύσας ῥύσεταί με μὴ θανεῖν, Soph. *O.C.* 667 τοὐμὸν φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα μὴ πάσχειν κακῶς.

[3] Also—all four with λαβεῖν—3.15.4 μηχανώμενος κακά, 4.166.1 παρισεύμενος Δαρείῳ... ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον, 8.90.1 τοὺς διαβάλλοντας & 117.1 (116.1) τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε... (2) οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι κτλ, in the context cited above s.v. θυμωθείς.

[4] Their example from Euripides, *Hipp.* 1050 μισθὸς γάρ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ δυσσεβεῖ, was deleted by NAUCK, following the clue from a scholion ἐν πολλοῖς οὐ φέρεται οὗτος ὁ ἴαμβος, and followed in his turn by BARRETT.

[5] Pp. 126–7.

[6] Cf. pp. 126 7 above on 10 η 1 s.v. ματαίους.

καί '*also*': given that its scope must extend beyond the pronoun τοι, because the person addressed was already a topic in the previous sentence,[1] the particle marks the statement expressly as an addition, implying that it is not an obvious and predictable continuation. A choice whether to highlight its relation to τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται, 'you shall not be punished; you will, *however*, be dishonoured' (contrastive), or to ἄξιον (μισθόν), 'you deserve . . ., *and* you get . . .' (cumulative), is not indicated by the text.

ἀτιμίην '*dishonour*', but approximating more closely to social death than the modern term can convey in a permissive society not at war; so much in fact that H. can mention one historical person who considered physical death preferable to it, 7.232 ὡς ἠτίμωτο ἀπάγξασθαι (Pantites, one of the two alleged survivors of Thermopylae). The situation of someone ἄτιμος and ἠτιμωμένος is most fully described in 7.231 ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα (i.e. ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθείς 9.71.2) ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην, πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἠτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίην. At 4.66 those of the Scythians who in any year have killed no enemies ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται, ὄνειδος δέ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο.[2] At 7.158.4 Gelon considers himself ἀτιμίης κυρήσας because his request has been refused; this perhaps belongs to a milder version, or at least one less collectively manifested and publicly observed, of ἀτιμίη, to which the verb ἀτιμάζειν rather than ἀτιμοῦν applies, cf. 1.61.2 of Megacles' ἀτιμάζεσθαι by his son-in-law Pisistratus' μίσγεσθαι with Megacles' daughter οὐ κατὰ νόμον. At 3.3.2 Cassandane claims to be 'held in dishonour' by Cyrus, who ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται his wife Nitetis subsequently acquired from Egypt.

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[1] And because, as C.J. Ruijgh points out, enclitic τοι cannot be the 'scope' of καί, which would require καὶ σοί. Note that, according to ROSÉN, τοι was originally omitted in A.

[2] The shared ἀτιμίη of children born from a foreign or otherwise disreputable mother in the matrilineal society of the Carians is referred to at 1.173.5 ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται, and that of one social class is opposed to the prestigious pursuits of another in 5.6.2 (among the Thracians) ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλλιστον. At 2.141.1 Sethon's ἄτιμα ποιέειν to the Egyptian military class includes or is closely associated with some kind of abuse (παραχρησάμενον), disregard (ἀλογίη), and taking the land they had been given by earlier kings: here the adjective is applied to measures tending to the dishonour of the victims and might be interpreted as causative.

προστίθημι '*put to*' (τινί τι, i.e. of something inanimate to a person), 5 x[1] in H. of some immaterial burden: 1.108.4 and 3.62.2 a πρῆγμα, 5.30.6 πρήσσειν. More similar to *h.l.* Thuc. 3.39.7 ζημίας προσθήσετε.

ἀθύμῳ '*lacking spirit*', cf. above s.v. θυμωθείς. At 1.37.2 Atys objects to Croesus' barring him from war and hunting that his father has found in him neither δειλίη nor ἀθυμίη, resumed by Croesus (38.1) as οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι.[2]

μήτε . . . τε . . . '*first, not to . . ., and secondly, to*' or '*both* (1) *not to . . . and* (2) *to . . .*': no internal connection between the two members is specified, it is merely made clear from the start that more than one item will follow.—Cf. οὔτε . . . τε in 8 α 1 above with note s.v.[3]

ἔμοι**γε** 'with *me*': the suffix is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Artabanus has just been suggesting that there should not be any στρατεύεσθαι of Xerxes at all, in which case there could be no συστρατεύεσθαι with him either: '. . . of not taking part in the expedition to Hellas with *me*, yes I am speaking of (going) my*self*. . .'; cf. on σέ γε at 10 θ 3 above s.v.[4] But it may express nothing more than the presumption that the worst part of the dishonour is in forfeiting an opportunity to attend the king.

(ὅσα) **περ** '*just* what' directs the hearer to Xerxes' earlier speech, esp. at 8 β 1 μέλλω . . . Ἑλλάδα & 2 οὐ πρότερον . . . τὰς Ἀθήνας & γ 1 ἀνάρτημαι . . . στρατεύεσθαι & 3 οὕτω . . . ἀναίτιοι, and implies 'nothing *less*'. Cf. on 5.2 above s.v. ταῦτα . . . τά περ.[5]

ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω '*will bring to completion, achieve*': the adjective always in H. either with ποιέειν (7 x) or with γίνεσθαι (4 x, at 6.78.2 with an adjunct ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων stating the agent). The resulting verb phrases are found with such objects (for ποιέειν) and subjects (for γίνεσθαι) as a command obeyed (1.124.1, 4.15.3), more particularly a stratagem carried out (4.4, 6.78.2); of exposing a child 1.117.4 and exhuming a body 3.16.1; of ὅσων ἐδεήθη 3.141 and τὰ ὑπέσχετο 5.107, cf. 7.30.1 ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας, and of a threat

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[1] Including the variant προσθείη of aS in 3.38.1 εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, which is possible but not preferable.
[2] Cf. 1.108.5.
[3] Pp. 13–14.
[4] P. 148.
[5] P. 4.

coming true 3.124.2. They have less specialised uses than ἐπιτελεῖν with ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, which cover e.g. rites[1] and payments; and are conceivably a little more formal and momentous or solemn, and to that extent emphatic: '*make, cause* to be, *do* so as to be *accomplished*'.

[1] I.e. reports of rites celebrated; it could be imagined that in the actual performance the periphrasis is at home. Cf. Hipp. *Oath* towards the end, ὅρκον μὲν οὖν μοι τόνδε ἐπιτελέα ποιέοντι καὶ μὴ ξυγχέοντι opposed to παραβαίνοντι δὲ καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντι.

11.2

'μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους, εὖ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.'

1 Ἀράμεος DRV: Ἀράμνεω S | Ἄρμνεω **a**: Ἀριράμνεω D 2 Τίσπεος **d** | τοῦ Τεΐσπεος om. **d**P 4 μάλιστα D 6 καὶ om. R

'For truly, may I not be descended from Darius the son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames the son of Ariaramnes the son of Teïspes the son of Cyrus the son of Cambyses the son of Teïspes the son of Achaimenes if I do not take my revenge on the Athenians, knowing fully well that if we are going to maintain inaction, they on the other hand, are not, but will march against our (country) with a vengeance, if one is to make an estimate from the actions initiated by them, who have set fire to Sardes and have marched into Asia.'

μὴ . . . εἴην . . . γεγονὼς μὴ τιμωρησάμενος . . . εὖ ἐπιστάμενος . . .: the absence of coordination between these participles, and the new occurrence of μή with the second of these, make it natural to take this as being not on the same syntactic level as the first but as limitative '. . . *if* I do not, have not . . .'; the third one could on the same lines be subordinated to the second, 'not taking revenge on the Athenians when I know that if we don't, they will'; alternatively, or even concurrently, it might be taken as being outside the scope of the first as well as of the second μή and referring to the first person not so much qua subject and with regard to the locutionary content, as qua speaker and with regard to the illocutionary force of the utterance: '(I am expressing this wish) since I well know that (inaction would be fatal, hence culpable)'.

ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι '*knowing that*': contrast ἐπιστάμενος ὡς in 18.2, and for the difference cp. NEUBERGER-DONATH 1982b, pp. 258 & 264.

γάρ '*for*' does not mark the wish as providing the hearer with a ground for accepting the previous claim as true, but it does introduce Xerxes' motivation for making the claim.[1]

[1] On this γάρ-clause cf. RIJKSBARON 1976, p. 81.

ἡσυχίην '*quiet, inaction*', (25 x)[1] from a negatively defined absence of movement (1.45.3 ἐπείτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα), strain (7.208.3 ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην), or sound (1.86.3 Croesus ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης, 5.92.1 οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλέης ἔλεξε τάδε), or combinations of these (9.44.1 ἡσυχίη τε ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ) to deliberate abstention from action, esp. military (7.150.2 οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι & 3 ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι), and calculated concealment (5.92 γ 1 τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, but 5.93.2 εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ σφέας αὐτούς, 1.11.1 ἡσυχίην εἶχε), and the relief experienced by a party formerly subjected to such action (6.135.2 ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε). Cf. (Xerxes again) ἥσυχοι ἔστε 13.3 below; this adjective (6 x)[2] also of keeping silent (2.2.4 τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν, ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτῶντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ κτλ), a secondary formation in H. only at 1.107.2 τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου '(inclined to) quiet'.

ἐκεῖνοι '*they*': cf. on 9 γ above s.v.[3]

ἀλλ', deriving from ἄλλα 'other (things)' in the vast majority of instances (over 500 in H.) has assumed the syntactic role of a coordinator,[4] as later in this line between οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι (sc. ἡσυχίην ἄξουσιν) and καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται; there remains a fraction,[5] all after a dependent clause introduced by εἰ (8 x)[6] or ἐπεί (2 x), where it does not coordinate either with this subordinate clause or with an independent clause preceding it, but as an adverb marks a contrast in content between the following clause[7] and the preceding subordinate

[1] Including 1.86.3 quoted in the text, where **d** has λειποψυχίης (-ας D); 10 x with ἄγειν, 3 x with ἔχειν.

[2] Including an oracle at 7.141.4.

[3] P. 73.

[4] On ἀλλά cf. most recently Basset 1997.

[5] Powell s.v. IV.

[6] Including Reiske's conjecture in 7.104.5 σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν ἀλλὰ σιγᾶν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν for ἅμα **a** and τ' ἄλλα **d**P, after what Powell (s.v. IV.2) calls 'causal εἰ' but translates as 'if I appear unto thee to speak folly in saying this, for the future I would be silent'.

[7] The present context illustrates that this is a main clause relatively to the εἰ- or ἐπεί-clause, though it may in its turn be embedded as a dependent clause in a larger periodic structure.

clause. The contrast may or may not be enhanced by syntactic parallelism or semantically related expressions: more so at 2.172.5 εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς, 4.120.4 εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἑκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμῶσαι, 3.72.1 εἰ μὴ ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας, and *h.l.*,[1] less conspicuously at 3.140.4 ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὦν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι and 9.27.5 ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοί εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, and not appreciably at 5.39.2 εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι οὐ περιοπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον.—Cf. notes on 8 α 1 and 10 β 2 & θ 1 s.v. and on 10 ζ s.v. ἔνεστι... εἰ μή... δοκέοντα εἶναι... ἀλλ' κτλ.[2]

καὶ μάλα '..., and this very much so,...' (or '... with a vengeance'):[3] similar uses of μάλα as a sentence adverb are found at 9.40 οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι... αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα[4] ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς and 7.103.1 σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα[5] μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; '... to take on ten men all at once?'. The particle καί presents the adverbial adjunct as an addition and thereby increases its impact. Abicht compares καὶ (τὸ) κάρτα (as in 16 β 2 below)[6] and Attic καὶ πάνυ, and contrasts (I) 7.186.1 τὴν θεραπηίην τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοισι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοισι ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πλοίοισι τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ. Here καὶ μάλα brings into relief the next item in a referring expression which is both complex—the present instance of καί being on a different level from the previous one and thus in need of being distinguished from

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[1] And with ἐπεί 9.42.2 ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος & 48.3 νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξομεν.

[2] Pp. 16 & 93 & 137 and 123 respectively.

[3] Idiomatic English would prove unexpectedly close to Basic Greek if the etymological connection with μαλερός ('heftig usw.' H. Osthoff, see Frisk s.v. μαλερός; 'rien de clair' Chantraine s.v. μαλερός) deserves credit. C.J. Ruijgh compares Dutch 'erg' (adverb) and 'erg' (adjective). He refers, however, to Blanc 1997, 58–68, who explains μαλερός as a dissimilation of *μαρερός (: μαρμαίρω) in the sense of 'brilliant', 'étincelant' (p. 68).

[4] μάλιστα **d**: καλὰ C.

[5] See note on 14 s.v. p. 201.

[6] Where see note s.v. p. 240.

it—and rather long; a comparable effect might be achieved in English by '. . . and equally . . .' (or, for the last item in a series, '. . . and not least . . .'). The same applies to an even higher degree to 8.66.2 ἀντιθήσω . . . τοῖσί τε . . . καὶ τοῖσι . . . καὶ τῇσι . . . τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὔκω ἑπομένους βασιλέϊ, Μηλιέας καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἑπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθην πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα.

A different use (II) is found at 4.68.4 (3 . . . ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας . . .) ἢν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι: here the adverb conceivably might serve to convey that ἄλλος continues in force so much as to become transitive: 'others, and then others than the last', 'others and still others'; cf. 1.181.3 ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων and perhaps 2.115.4 (ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα (ἔχων **d**) ἦλθες·) καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεαι ἔχων [ἐκκλέψας]. (5) καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε ἀλλὰ κτλ.[1] The alternative of positing a special use for μάλα as 'wiederum, *rursus*', '*vel iterum*',[2] 'wiederum'[3] and 'hinwiederum, ferner',[4] 'again'[5] calls for an explanation, rather than providing one; Stein's attempt, 'das einfache μάλα statt μάλ' αὖ oder μάλ' αὖτις',[6] will not convince everyone.

εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι '*if one is to make an estimate*': for 'propositional conditionals', which 'present a condition for the *truth of the proposition* presented in the main clause', of the type 'if we may/are to (χρή/δεῖ) believe p', cf. Wakker 1994, pp. 228–30.[7]

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[1] Cf., without καί, 1.134.3 ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων (reported as 'οὗτοι δέ . . . οἱ δέ . . . οἱ δὲ μάλα . . .' by Powell s.v. μάλα 2). This could be regarded as a transition between (I) and (II) above.

[2] Stein on 1.134.3 and *h.l.* respectively.

[3] Abicht on 1.134.3 and 4.68.4.

[4] Abicht on 7.186.1.

[5] Powell s.v. 2.

[6] On 1.134.3.

[7] In footnote 11 p. 231 she cites as parallels Aesch. *Pers.* 800–2, Pl. *Resp.* 331 D 4–5.

χρή 'it is *obligatory, necessary* to . . ., one *is to* . . .' (38 x):[1] the (defective) verb also above at 8 δ 1 & 9 β 2 (*bis*) with notes s.vv. χρήσει and χρῆν respectively.[2] The present is one of three instances for which POWELL s.v. 1 assumes a 'weakened' sense; what is distinctive about them seems to be that (i) *h.l.* the speaker feels that one *has* to because one sees *no choice but* to, whereas (ii) at 4.115.2 ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅκως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ '. . . how we *are to* . . .' and 7.50.2 εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; 'how *is* one *to* . . .?' he not only sees no *choice* but even doubts whether so much as *one* opportunity is offered.

Under (i) can be accommodated (a) the examples of POWELL's '3. *it is necessary*' 1.186.1 ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοὔτερον διαβῆναι χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν and 8.129.2 παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην· ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ κτλ, as well as (b) 2.20.3 εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ and, inviting comparison with *h.l.*, 2.120.3 εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν and 7.214.2 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι κτλ[3]—all three of which he puts among the large majority (28 x) under '1. *it is right, proper that*'.

Under (ii) can be accommodated 1.37.2 (Atys to Croesus) τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι, likewise under '1' in POWELL.

On the other hand the examples under his '4. *it is fated*', 1.8.2 χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς & 120.1 λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον, are instances applied at a partly superhuman and cosmic level of just the same compound, or rather unanalysed, notion comprehending the range from an inherent or externally determined *must* to a prescriptive *ought* via *are to, have to,* and *should,* as e.g. (more intrinsic) 1.123.2 συμμίσγων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης, 8.100.5 ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ

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[1] Including the reading of **d** at 1.88.2 'Ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;', where a well-attested χρόνῳ (**aP**) detracts from the syntax without adding to the sense. At 8.75.1 χρην is the variant of **d** in ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν (χρεὼν CP).

[2] Pp. 45 & 66 respectively.

[3] Cf. 1.57.1 εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι κτλ.

χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην and 9.45.3 ἢν δὲ ἄρα . . . λιπαρέετε μένοντες· . . . · (3) ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ μνησθῆναί τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι,[1] or (more circumstantially motivated) 7.172.2 πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὡς εἰ μὴ πέμψετε ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ and 9.60.2 εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὅρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας . . . βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ κτλ,[2] or indeed any of the others under Powell's '1'.—Cf. χρεόν at 13.2 and τὸ χρεόν at 17.2 below.

σταθμώσασθαι '*make an estimate*': Xerxes echoes the wording of his temporarily favoured counsellor Mardonius at 10 β 1, where see note s.v.[3]

ὑπαργμένοισι '*things begun*' in the pregnant sense of 'things which formed a beginning', i.e. actions perpetrated without provocation. The king himself set the theme in 8 β 2, where see note s.v. ὑπῆρξαν,[4] and Mardonius did not fail to take it up in 9.2.—On the perfect cf. note on ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας in 8 β 1 above.[5]

ἐνέπρησαν '*have set fire to*': cf. notes on 8 β 2 & β 3 above s.vv. πυρώσω and ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά.[6]

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[1] Cf. 9.98.3 ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν μεμνῆσθαί τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ κτλ.

[2] Similarly 4.118.4 εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης . . . χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἰέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· νῦν δέ κτλ.

[3] Pp. 87–8.

[4] P. 31.

[5] P. 27. C.J. Ruijgh takes the perfect *h.l.*, as in 8 β 1, as 'totalisant-itératif' in the sense of '(all) things begun (by them) up to the present moment', and compares passives of the type τὰ πεποιημένα, τὰ πεπραγμένα, τὰ γεγενημένα, which often figure in accusations.

[6] Pp. 30 & 33 respectively.

11.3

'οὐκ ὦν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἕλλησι ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί.'

1 οὐδετέροις RSV | δυνατῶς] ἱκανῶς **d** | ἔχειν RV | παθέειν L 3 ἔχθης A^{ac}

'*For neither side, then, is it possible to back out, no, to act or to suffer is the issue in the contest that lies before (us), in order that either all that is here comes to be under Hellenes, or all that is there under Persians; for the mean is no part of enmity.*'

οὐκ ὦν '... *not, then* ...': particle and negation do not coalesce into a virtual idiom such as at 10 β 2 above, where see note.[1] The general use of the particle is to mark an advance from subsidiary to more focal information,[2] this takes the form of background and foreground below at 12.2 μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι ...; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ οὔτε κτλ & 15.(1–)2 (ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν ... (2) μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο·) οὐκ ὦν δυνατός τοί εἰμι ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα '...; now (the point is,) I am *unable* to ...'.

It is involved in an appeal to the hearer to accept what follows as an implication[3] or consequence of what precedes *h.l.*, below at 149.2 λέγειν σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἕνα· οὐκ ὦν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν '...: the point (upshot, implication), then, was that that there was

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[1] Pp. 90–2.

[2] See Van Ophuijsen 1993, p. 84.

[3] Or a presupposition: at 6.123.2–124.1 ... τὰς Ἀθήνας ... Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. (124.1) ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα· οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσάν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἳ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο the first clause of 124.1 presents a conceivable objection to the part played by the Alcmaeonid clan and at the same time supplies a motive for it; the second clause positively asserts (μέν) H.' grounds for what appears to be a presupposition of the first clause, that they cannot well have acted from a baser motive.

no way to . . .', at 2.141.(1–)2 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου . . . τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων . . . (2) μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν, 3.118.(1–)2 (Intaphrenes) ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλήια ἐσελθὼν . . .· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ μάγῳ ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου . . .· (2) οὐκ ὦν δὴ ὁ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐσιέναι ἤθελε, 6.79.2 . . . τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους . . . κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἑκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε . . . (2) οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὅ τι ἔπρησσον πρίν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιεύμενον· οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήισαν· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης κτλ, and 7.103.1 ἄγε εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φῄς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι· σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι . . . σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κτλ.[1]

In a rather complicated connection at 2.139.2 τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὄψιν . . . τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεέ οἱ . . .· (2) ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασίν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι ἵνα ἀσεβήσας . . . κακόν τι . . . λάβοι· οὐκ ὦν ποιήσειν ταῦτα ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν· (3) ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια . . . ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα· ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἑκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς we observe a transition to cases where the aptness of the particle to impose order on information takes the stereotyped form of marking stages in a narrative, as at 1.11.4 (2) ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· . . ., Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν . . .· (3) ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα μετὰ δὲ ἱκέτευε μή μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν· (4) οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ . . . ἢ . . .· αἱρέεται κτλ, 1.(23–)24.3

[1] At 7.147.3 the implications of a statement *by another speaker* are involved: the particle comes at the beginning of a reply of Xerxes to the answer to his own previous question: (2) ὁ Ξέρξης εἶδε πλοῖα . . . οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ . . . ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν αἱρέειν αὐτά . . . (3) ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἴρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκῃ πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους ὦ δέσποτα σῖτον ἄγοντες· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· οὐκ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὗτοι, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;

(24.1) Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ... (24.1) τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι ... (2) μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα· τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι χρήματα μέν σφι προϊέντα ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. (3) οὐκ ὦν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ...· (4) ἀπειληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι κτλ, 3.137.(2–)4 τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ ... ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε· ... (4) ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἔπειθον ἀλλ' ... ἀπέπλεον κτλ, 5.96.(1–)2[1] Ἱππίης δὲ ... πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε ... ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ· ... (2) καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους οὐκ ἐῶντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευέ σφεας ... καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἱππίην· οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο κτλ '...; now the Athenians did not ...',[2] and 8.90.1 ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες ὡς προδόντων· συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν.

At the very least there is a summary of that part of what precedes which is immediately relevant to the sequel, e.g. 4.11.(2–)3 τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ...· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ..., τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ...· (3) οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ

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[1] POWELL is hard to follow where, s.v. ὦν IV.(1–)3, he makes this the single example of 'the idiom of οὐκ ὦν (δή) in causal protasis', developed ('Hence') from 'adversative' ὦν 'by gradual stages' consisting of (1) 'strengthening a negative' exemplified by 7.10 β 2 & 12.2 & 15.2, all quoted above, & 16 β 1 which contains νῦν ὦν and οὐκ ἐῶντα (ἐῶν COBET) but no οὐκ ὦν.

[2] 1.59.3 ... (1) ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος ... Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ ... (2) Χίλων δὲ ... συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτεϊ πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία ...· (3) οὐκ ὦν ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκρατέα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον ... likewise exemplifies this narrative use; at the same time Hippocrates' disregard of Chilon's advice was already implicit in Hippocrates' being introduced as the father of Pisistratus. 6.52.3 ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδυμα ... (3) Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεῦσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι· οὐκ ὦν δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἕλωνται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν· (4) τὴν δὲ κτλ is another instance of marking a stage in a narrative; at the same time it is possible to take the content of the clause which contains ὦν as a consequence of the similarity mentioned in the absolute genitive clause which follows immediately.

δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι . . ., τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι κτλ, 7.142.2 οἱ μὲν δὴ [κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν] συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν . . .· τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε κτλ, & 49.(2–)3 οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔστι λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι . . .· (3) οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων μάθε κτλ. Here the demand made on the hearer's imaginative cooperation is limited; even so, from 'now *it being established* that' to (10 β 2) 'now *suppose* that . . .' is a comprehensible extension.—Cf. on 10 β 2 s.v. οὐκ ὦν.[1]

ἐξαναχωρέειν, getting out where you went in, *opp.* διεξέρχεσθαι, where you come out at the other end: above 8 γ 2 διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης with note s.v. διὰ . . . διεξελθὼν.[2] In one context with similar compounds 1.207.5–208 (Croesus) χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι[3] τῆς χώρης· νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι[4] ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας . . .· (7) ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατίης τὸ φλαυρότατον τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· . . . (208) γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν, Κῦρος δὲ μετεὶς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἑλόμενος προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην· ἡ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα.[5]

The use of ἀνα- for 'back(wards)' could 'come from such phrases as ἀνὰ ῥόον' (LSJ s.v. ἀνά F.4; cf. 2.96.3 ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν . . . κατὰ ῥόον δὲ . . .), or it may conceivably presuppose the wider notion of 'throughout' (*ibidem* C.I.2 in spatial & II.1 in temporal relations) as implying 'to and fro' or such a retreading of steps as is involved

[1] Pp. 90–2.

[2] P. 40.

[3] Also in an oracle at 7.141.4 and as a variant in 9.14 quoted in the next footnote.

[4] Cf., of a strategic retreat, 9.13.2–14 . . . (1) Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ . . .· (2) ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε . . . ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ . . . (14) Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε . . . (ὑπεχώρεε(ν) **d**, not impossibly).

[5] Also 4.196.1 τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων, 5.101.3 οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες . . . ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Τμῶλον καλεόμενον ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, and 6.76.2 μετὰ δὲ [ταῦτα] ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην.

in distributive uses (*ibidem* C.II.2 in temporal & III in numerical relations).

ἀλλὰ **ποιέειν ἢ πάσχειν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα** '. . . no, *to act or to suffer is the issue of the contest that lies before us, in order that*. . .', cf. 9.60.1 ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα 'while before us lies the greatest of issues: whether Greece shall be free or in bondage'.[1] These dilemmatic instances recall χ 65–6 νῦν ὑμῖν παράκειται ἐναντίον ἠὲ μάχεσθαι | ἢ φεύγειν and Eur. *Med.* 235–6 κἀν τῷδ' ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἢ κακὸν λαβεῖν | ἢ χρηστόν;[2] The word ἀγών by itself does not consistently discriminate between the contest itself, the issue which it is about, the task set to each of the contestants, or the efforts or fortune of one contestant; cf. 7.104.3 εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγὼν κτλ. The context may make some of these distinctions more operative than others; thus the infinitive complement focuses on the actual conduct of the contestant *h.l.*, just as the substantive infinitives do in χ, but on the outcome in 9.60.1.[3] *H.l.* the possible outcome is mentioned in the final clause which follows.

A use of the word which underlies these disjunctions seems to be that with a simple infinitive complement and no alternative specified, as in Eur. *Hipp.* 496–7 νῦν δ' ἀγὼν μέγας | σῶσαι βίον σόν and *I.A.* 1003–4 εἷς ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστ' ἀγὼν | μέγιστος ὑμᾶς ἐξαπαλλάξαι κακῶν. An unusually explicit statement is Eur. *Hel.* 1090–2 μέγας γὰρ ἀγὼν καὶ βλέπω δύο ῥοπάς· | ἢ γὰρ θανεῖν δεῖ μ' ἢν ἀλῶ τεχνωμένη | ἢ πατρίδα τ' ἐλθεῖν καὶ σὸν ἐκσῶσαι δέμας.

τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί: depending on whether τῆς ἔχθρης is taken to depend on τὸ μέσον or on οὐδέν, either 'for the middle of the relation between ἐχθροί is a thing of nought', '—is

[1] Cf. 7.209.2 (Demaratus) ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ ὦ βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μεγιστός ἐστι 'to cultivate the truth in your face is an issue of the greatest consequence to me'.

[2] Also 6.109.3 ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον (cp. Steiner 1957, pp. 108–111), and Thuc. 2.89.10 ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης.

[3] It is instructive to compare the range of ἀγών with the extreme limits represented by the only two instances of ἀγώνισμα, from ἀγωνίζεσθαι (20 x), at 8.76.2 τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων 'struggles' and 1.140.3 ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται 'a thing to struggle for'.

non-existent', or 'for the mean is no part of the relation between ἐχθροί'. The difference is one of analysis only. In either case the purport is that the ἔχθρη does not admit of compromise, or even coexistence. This may apply to ἔχθρη generally,[1] as well as to that obtaining between Xerxes and the Greeks in particular.[2]

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[1] Which is not to deny that some ἔχθραι can end in reconciliation: 7.6.3 τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλύσαμενοι.

[2] Cf. 1.5.1 Πέρσαι ... διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. There ἔχθρη is someone's being the ἐχθρός *of*, cf. (with ἐς) 5.81.2 & 82.1 and between individuals 6.65.3, (with πρός) 5.89.1 and 8.22.2 ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε; *h.l.* the μέσον suggests reciprocity, as do even more obviously the plural and the context in general in 7.145.1 συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὠυτὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους & 146.1.

11.4

'καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὤνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται.'

1 ὑμέας RV 3 καὶ om. R | ὁ om. **d** | ἐὼν ἐμῶν πατέρων **d**P 4 ἄνθρωποι **a** | αὐτέων **a**

'A fine thing, then, it becomes to revenge ourselves at this time, being the first to have suffered (wrong), in order that I may also learn this thing to be feared which I am to experience if I march against those very men whom even Pelops the Phrygian, being a slave of my forefathers, subdued with such effect that to this very day both the people themselves and their land are named after the man who subdued them.'

καλόν, approximately '*a grace*' as opposed to a disgrace: what is, and is seen to be, good in a person. With an infinitive in H. (superlative) 1.172.1 τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα ἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί, 5.6.2 (among other Thracians) ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, (comparative) 4.162.4 ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιὴν οἱ (Pheretime) ἐδίδου· ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένῃ στρατιήν (infinitive with article for what was implied in the request and is opposed to τὸ διδόμενον as something equally definite, if less concrete), 1.37.2 τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν (superlative; adjective with article for an acknowledged good).—Cf. κάλλιστα in 8 δ 1 above.

ὦν '. . ., *then*, . . .': the particle again marks a speaker's proceeding from what is pertinent to what this is pertinent *to*. The reference (in προπεπονθότας) to information already given (recalled most recently in ὑπαργμένοισι) and the recurrence of τιμωρέειν, as well the aptness of καλόν and ἤδη to a peroration, convey that this is Xerxes' concluding statement and final decision.—Cf. note on 10 δ 1 above s.v. (σὺ) ὦν (μή).[1]

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[1] P. 106.

τιμωρέειν '*to revenge ourselves*', the positive and preferred alternative to first person singular μὴ τιμωρησάμενος in 2 above.—For the sense cf. on 8 α 2 s.v. τιμωρίην; for the construction on 8 β 1 s.v. τιμωρήσωμαι.[1]

ἤδη '*(from) now (on)*', while it is more dispensable with τιμωρέειν, can be taken as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ between that verb and γίνεται. Cf. note on 9 α 2 above s.v.[2]

γίνεται '*becomes*' does not imply that it *is* not (yet) so, but merely (1) that its being so is not a timeless and invariable value but something tied up with certain events (προπεπονθότας), or (2) that our saying that it is so is the outcome of drawing up an account—or very possibly both (1) and (2).[3] Cf. τοῦτο δὴ βασιλεῦ γίνεται δεινόν in 10 β 2 and contrast 4.162.4 quoted s.v. καλόν above.

ἵνα **καὶ** τὸ δεινὸν . . . μάθω . . . τούς γε **καὶ** Πέλοψ . . . ὡς **καὶ** ἐς τόδε . . . 'in order that I may *also* . . . whom *even* (whom no better man than) Pelops . . . with such effect that to this *very* day . . .': the particle, supposed to mark the clauses and phrases following it as significant additions, is worked too hard not to contribute to an impression of overstatement and bravado.

τὸ δεινὸν . . . τοῦτο '*this (reputed) thing of terror*' refers to 10 α 3 τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν & β 2 τοῦτο δὴ βασιλεῦ γίνεται δεινόν.[4] The position of the demonstrative in hyperbaton, or at least as an afterthought, makes it more substantive: 'this terrible thing that I will suffer—*that one* (of *yours*, which *you* spoke of)'. Cf. note on 9.2 above s.v. δεινόν.[5]

ἄνδρας τούτους τούς **γε** καί '(I am referring to) those (very) men whom even . . .': Xerxes' insistence on their being identical with those subdued by Pelops expresses his confidence that he has nothing to fear from them. His reference 8 γ 1 was more accurate or specific: there the men 'who inhabit (νέμονται) the land of the Phrygian Pelops' were those living next (πλησιοχώρους) to the Athenians. Cf.

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[1] Pp. 25 & 27 respectively.
[2] P. 60.
[3] Cf. rendering it with 'proves to be'.
[4] Note the recurrence of γίνεται, and the related ἤδη and δή.
[5] P. 53.

notes on 8 β 2 s.vv. οἵ and γε and on 10 θ 3 s.v. σέ γε,[1] and contrast ταῦτα . . . τά περ in 5.2 with note s.v.[2]

ἐπώνυμοι is used (I) of given names, 'being the name upon' and (II) of things, 'having the name of . . . upon . . .', whether (i) giv*en* a name, i.e. having the name *of* some other person or thing *upon* oneself or itself', in the connection of borrowing one's or its name *from* someone or something, or (ii) giv*ing* a name, i.e. having the name *of* oneself or itself *upon* some other person or thing, in lending it *to* someone or something. The 4 x in H. exemplify (II.i), that of 4.184.4 ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες adding a preposition to the eponym, presumably because this is mentioned before, and separated by the subject from, the adjective which it is to be construed with. The bare genitive suffices at 2.112.2 συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὼς ὡς . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμόν ἐστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται where the adjective follows immediately, and *h.l.*, where it precedes. At 5.45.1 Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ no eponym is specified.

[1] Pp. 30 & 31 and 148 respectively.
[2] P. 4.

First speech of the Dream (12)

12.1

ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο, μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν·

1 τοσούτω **d** | ἐλέγετο] ἐγένετο C | τε om. **d**P[1] | ἐγένετο **d**P 2 γνώμη om. SV 3 οὐ om. D | δεδογμένον CR 4 ἴδε AB | τοιήνδε om. **d** 5 ὡς λέγεται om. R

These things were said so far; and after that, night came and Artabanus' opinion grated on Xerxes. Taking counsel with night he positively found that it was not a thing for him to do to undertake an expedition against Hellas. And when these things had been resolved by him annulling his former resolution, he fell asleep, and then it actually somehow seems that during the night he saw a vision as follows, as the Persians have it: Xerxes had the impression that a man, tall and well-shaped, stepped up to him and spoke:

ταῦτα . . . ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο '*these* (things were said/words were spoken) *so far*', a formula which with its two anaphoric references rounds off one section (ταῦτα covers 8 α to 11) and in doing so may provide the transition to another one, thus serving as an articulating device more conspicuous than mere τοσαῦτα found in 10.1 above Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην ἐπέπαυτο, σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων κτλ & 17.1 below τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος ἐλπίζων . . . ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον, ἐνδὺς δὲ κτλ. A similar relation obtains between 4.45.5 ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω·[1] τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα and 3.113.1 τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. *H.l.* the adverb μετά which follows makes it natural to interpret the extension denoted by ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο specifically as an extension in time: 'bis soweit' ABICHT.

εὐφρόνη '*night*', at home in poetry, only 8 x in H. (all in 7–9), is a much more arresting word than νύξ (102 x in H., 37 of which in 7–9). Within one context it is used first and then taken up by the

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[1] The same clause 4.199.2 followed by (200.1) οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε κτλ.

κύριον ὄνομα *h.l.* (νυκτί *bis*) and 8.12.1–13 ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς κτλ. (13) καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νὺξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, but ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο recurs in 14.2, and νύξ precedes εὐφρόνη at 9.37.3 Hegesistratus ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος οὕτω ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ. These contexts are compatible with a hypothesis that εὐφρόνη is the night which falls or which follows the day, and νύξ the night which lasts, but this is refuted by 7.56.1 διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ [ἐν] ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνῃσι. The—potentially euphemistic[1]—connotation of good will and good cheer which could belong to the word on the strength of its derivation from εὖ and φρονέειν[2] might conceivably be relevant to 9.37.3 quoted above and to 8.6.2 and 9.39.1 on other escapes or expeditions favoured by the darkness of night; in 7.188.2 of the night preceding a gale which will wreck many ships; and *h.l.*, both as providing a foil contrasting with Xerxes' vexation[3] and as explaining why a man should νυκτὶ βουλὴν διδόναι; see note below.

τε . . . καί '(both) . . . *and* . . .': the paratactic construction by means of the split coordinator τε καί is more likely to connote simultaneity than, as STEIN would have it, succession. This could be taken to justify a preference for ἐγίνετο, imperfect like ἔκνιζε, over the aorist ἐγένετο of C.—Cf. note on 5.2 above s.v. τε . . . καί.[4]

ἔκνιζε '*grated on*': cf. 10 ε above with note s.v. κνίζει.[5] There the subject are ζῷα μικρά; with the γνώμη *h.l.* cf. Soph. *O.T.* 786 (784 τοὔνειδος . . . τὸν λόγον) ἔκνιζέ μ' ἀεὶ τοῦθ', ὑφεῖρπε γὰρ πολύ. There seems to be no special point in the recurrence of the verb in H.'

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[1] 'Évidemment un euphémisme, désignant la nuit comme "la bienveillante".' CHANTRAINE s.v. C.J. Ruijgh points out that morphologically εὐφρόνη is a feminine *personal name*, since stems in consonants have the feminine suffix -ᾱ- only in the case of personal names (the type Ἀλκυόνη), the suffix -ᾰ- being used in other cases (the type Ἰφιγένεια).

[2] Thus Cornutus 14 and *Etym.Gud.* cited by DE FALCO *ap.* GOMME & SANDBACH: see note 2 p. 174 below.

[3] Cf. the contrast between the calm of night and the turmoils of a lover's heart in Hellenistic poetry: A.R. 3.724–824, Theocr. 2.38–41.

[4] P. 7.

[5] P. 117.

narrative so soon after Artabanus' speech. The statement that Artabanus' opinion continues to cause irritation or bother does not particularly prepare us for a change of mind rather than any other conceivable reaction on Xerxes' part.

νυκτὶ . . . βουλὴν διδούς '*taking counsel with night*' expresses an attitude of allowing the truth of the proverb ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή (Zenobius 3.97) to assert itself.[1] Cf. Men. *Epitr.* 252–3 ἐν νυκτὶ βουλὴν δ' ὅπερ ἅπασι γίνεται | διδοὺς ἐμαυτῷ διελογιζόμην[2] and Plut. *Them.* 26.2 νυκτὶ φωνὴν νυκτὶ βουλὴν νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου. The noun βουλή (16 x)[3] can be understood as denoting the activity leading, or the process of coming, to a decision on a course of action *h.l.* as well as at 6.101.2 οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε.[4] At 3.78.1 οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἔτυχον . . . τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες the decision involved is one of how to respond to a past action. At 4.134.2 (Dareius) βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω can be related to the preceding examples of a collective and cumulative 'council, deliberation',[5] but equally to the individual contributions of 'counsel, advice' implied in 5.118.2 ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου, ὃς . . .· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε κτλ.[6]

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[1] This is a more passive attitude than that of Eur. *Heracl.* 993–4 πολλῶν σοφιστὴς πημάτων ἐγιγνόμην | καὶ πόλλ' ἔτικτον νυκτὶ συνθακῶν ἀεί, which in its context has conspiratory overtones.

[2] Traced to Phocylides 8 D. νυκτὸς βουλεύειν νυκτὸς δέ τοι ὀξυτέρη φρὴν | ἀνδράσιν, ἡσυχίη δ' ἀρετὴ⟨ν⟩ διζημένῳ ἐσθλή by GOMME & SANDBACH following V. DE FALCO in *Parolo del Passato* 1 (1946) 358; cf. [Men.] *Monostichoi* 222 Jaekel ἐν νυκτὶ βουλὴ τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται.

[3] Including 3.1.1, where Theon *Progymn.* 193 has ἐκ συμβουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου (συμβουλίης **d**).

[4] Similarly at 8.40.1 ἵνα . . . βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης.

[5] The body of men—and women, 4.165.1 ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη . . . ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα—forming a council is called βουλή also at 5.72.1 τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο & 2 ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, 7.149.1 ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι & 2 τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, and 9.5.1 ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου & 2 οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν.

[6] Similarly 1.63.2 βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται ὅκως μήτε ἁλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν and 8.100.3 (Mardonius) εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν.

εὕρισκε '*he found*': with immaterial objects, or at least with objects involved in a propositional or 'intensional' connection such as at 1.56.2 ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, the verb commonly appears in a present stem tense form with a participle specifying the manner of searching: thus with φροντίζων 8 α 2 above,[1] 1.125.1, 5.24.1; with διζήμενος 3.41.1, ἱστορέων 1.56.2, ὁρέων 1.68.4, (ἀνα)πυνθανόμενος 1.105.3, 2.2.4 & 50.1, (5.57.1), συμβαλλόμενος 4.15.1, 7.24 & 184.1 & 187.2, 8.30.1, λογισάμενος 1.137.1, βουλευόμενος 1.79.1.[2]—Cf. εὑρίσκω in 10 δ 2 above and 15.3 below with note s.v.[3]

πάγχυ '*wholly*' (14 x)[4] can be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with nearby εὕρισκε, 'he positively, definitely found', cf. in H. πάγχυ ἐλπίζειν (4 x) and πάγχυ δοκέειν (2 x) and καταδοκέειν (2 x), as well as with οὐ, with which its Attic counterpart πάνυ forms the more or less idiomatic combination οὐ πάνυ 'not at all'.

For variations of word order cf. πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα 3.157.1[5] with οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἧκον 8.12.2, and 1.31.1 δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι with 7.32 ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν.

For a comparable syntactic ambivalence cf. Thuc. 1.3.2 (1 δηλοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε . . .· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς·) δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ τοὔνομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἕλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ κτλ.

πρῆγμα, etymologically 'a case *of* or *for* πράττειν', i.e. 'a thing (to be) *done*, for *doing*, to *do*, an *action* (to be) taken',[6] is similarly used 1.79.1 βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν . . . ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις '. . . that the thing to do for him was to . . .', '. . . what he had to do was . . .',[7] the idiom is related to that of 5.84.2 οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα 'no cause for dealings

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[1] Where see note s.v. εὑρίσκω pp. 22–3.
[2] Quoted s.v. πρῆγμα below.
[3] P. 213.
[4] Including 1.54.1 quoted n. 5 below.
[5] Similarly 1.54.1 πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην (ταχὺ RSV); slightly more involved 4.135.3 πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.
[6] Cf. Lat. *opus est* (C.J. Ruijgh).
[7] Cf., without dative personal object, 1.207.2, 4.11.2, 7.130.2.

(with each other)'. In 6.63.2 τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα:[1] they did not 'regard *it* as calling for action',[2] a transition may be observed to 3.132.2 ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέϊ 'a thing *made* (or *to make*) much *of*'. The connection with πράττειν is still in evidence above at 10 ζ in ἐπειχθῆναι πᾶν πρῆγμα, less so at 8 δ 2 in τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, and not any more, or only in virtue of the wider use of πράττειν for 'being in such and such a condition', at 9.2 in δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα εἰ Σάκας μὲν ... ἔχομεν Ἕλληνας δὲ ... οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα. Cf. on 10 γ 2 above s.v. πρήγματα.[3]

αὖτις '*anew*' (60 x)[4] signifies approximately that the same point is taken as the point of departure for a fresh start,[5] or that the same (literal or figurative) ground is covered anew;[6] it does not specify whether this takes the form of (1) a repetition[7] (A to B followed by A′ to B′) or (2) a coming back[8] by the same route (A to B followed by B to A), or by extension (3) a cancellation of the first round, or (4) some other balancing of one item with another.

It is possible to represent (1) and (2) as different parts of the same circular movement or cyclic process.[9] From this it is a short step to

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1 Similarly, in the affirmative, 7.150.3 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι.

2 Or, less probably, with no other object besides πρῆγμα, 'did not see fit to take action'.

3 Pp. 104–5.

4 Including 3.5.2 ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Συρίων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης & 76.2 ἐδίδοσαν αὖτις (αὐτοῖσι **a**) σφίσι λόγους as well as the oracle at 7.141.3 referring back to 140.2–3, but excluding 6.75.2 ἀπείλεε τά μιν λυθεὶς (B²: αὖτις P αὖθις rell.) ποιήσει.

5 Cf. ἐξ ἀρχῆς in 5.120 οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο.

6 Cf. ἐκ νέης in 1.60.1 οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὖτις ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν and 5.116 ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὖτις ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο.

7 Cf. δεύτερα in 4.76.1 ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσίς τε καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης and 7.141.1 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου ... συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας.

8 Cf. ὀπίσω in 6.24.2 καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὖτις ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, 2.122.3, and 4.105.2.

9 Cf. English 'return' comprehending (1) and (2) and 'round trip' for the way there and back (i.e. A to B *and* (2) B to A).—This conception is also relevant to (3), as is shown by περιελθεῖν (also found at 2.123.2 quoted below), at 1.96.1 ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον and 3.65.6 μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὖτις ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν.

the articulation of a process[1] into successive analogous stages, as at 10 δ 1 above[2] νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτις δὲ ὅταν τοι δοκῇ . . . προαγόρευε κτλ and 3.155.5 σὺ δὲ ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης . . . ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς . . . ταύτης χιλίους τάξον . . . μετὰ δὲ αὖτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἑβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον, which has given way to a still weaker form of marking sequentiality in 3.89.3 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὖτις Καμβύσεω.[3] The most peripheral instances are those in which there is no other order than that imposed by the speaker on some enumeration by means of the expression πρῶτα μὲν . . . αὖτις δέ, as at 3.2.2 in the statement ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὖτις δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης κτλ.[4]

For (1) cf. 14 below νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν;[5] for (2) e.g. 2.149.4 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι . . . ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται καὶ ἓξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἓξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὖτις.[6] For (3) cf. 1.75.5 ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι (sc. ὁ ποταμός) ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι and 7.176.5 τὸ μέν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὖτις ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε κτλ. Varieties of (4) are 1.159.4 Ἀριστόδικον δὲ . . . εἰπεῖν· Ὦναξ αὐτὸς μὲν . . . Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις . . .;

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[1] More particularly a narration at 1.56.3 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

[2] Where see note s.v. p. 107.

[3] Similarly 3.88.2 τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὖτις τῷ μάγῳ and 6.125.1 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὖτις Μεγακλέος.

[4] Similarly 7.102.2, 8.60 β & 144.2; there is a suspicion of sequentiality at 9.78.3 ἔπαινον ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.

[5] Equally or more explicit are 1.159.2 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, 2.19.2 ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος . . . μέχρι οὗ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων & 86.4 διηθήσαντες οἴνῳ φοινικηίῳ αὖτις διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι, 4.5.4 ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον καὶ τὸν αὖτις ταὐτὰ ποιέειν, 8.94.3 ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον αὖτις τάδε λέγειν.

[6] Also 1.207.7 (5 προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι . . . 6 προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα . . .) ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, 4.4 & 67.1.

τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοισίδε· Ναὶ κελεύω κτλ, and 2.8.3 τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὖτις εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι[1] & 29.6 αὖτις ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβάς.[2]

Instances with which (1), (2), and (3) are all compatible bring out the unity underlying these distinctions: thus 2.123.2 ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνειν, and to a perhaps lesser extent 5.92 γ 4 ἔδοξε αὖτις παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν, 6.33.2 οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τράπονται ἐπί τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλεον αὖτις ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολίων ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν.[3]

H.l. commentators offer no help. POWELL classifies under '1. *a second time*'. His *tr.* 'And when he had thus resolved anew' keeps admirably close to the Greek. An interpretation taking account of the context must involve (3) above: 'and when these things had been resolved by him *annulling his former resolution*', since it is by his backing out (μετὰ βουλεύεσθαι (. . . προείπας) 12.2 *bis*) that Xerxes provokes the dream.

κατύπνωσε '*he fell asleep*', aorist after a series of imperfect tense forms ἐλέγετο, ἐγίνετο, ἔκνιζε, and εὕρισκε, signifying the completion of one stage in the narrative.—Cf. below κατυπνώσειας 15.3, κατυπνῶσαι 16 γ 3, κατυπνωμένῳ 14 & 17.1 with notes s.vv.[4]

καὶ δή κου (4 x)[5] here as elsewhere in H. can be understood in terms of the individual particles collocated:

καί '*and* (*then*)' creates a greater continuity between Xerxes' falling asleep and having a dream than δέ might have done.

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[1] Assimilated to (1) by POWELL s.v. under his heading '1. *a second time*'.

[2] Assimilated to (2) by POWELL s.v. under his heading '3. *again* illogically = *back*'.

[3] Sequentiality and balancing (4 above) are ingredients of 1.191.2 τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει καὶ ὄπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἑτέρους τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός.

[4] Pp. 214 & 259–60 & 197 & 263 respectively.

[5] At 6.11.1 (καὶ δή κού σφι καὶ ἄλλοι . . . ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ . . .) & 128.2 (καὶ δή κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἠρέσκοντό ⟨οἱ⟩ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἱπποκλείδης) and 9.113.1 (coordinated with τε).

δή: a secondary, yet characteristic application of a particle intimating something which could be paraphrased by '*as you can see*' is to things that are actually rather less than obvious: '. . ., *you know* (*what*), . . .'. Cf. on 8 β 1 s.v.[1] and VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993, pp. 87–8.

κου '*it seems*', '*I gather*' does not express doubt[2] so much as a *reserve* which, judging from τοιήνδε 'of the following character', regards the details especially.[3] Cf. above on 8 β 3 & 10 θ 3.[4]

ὄψιν . . . ἄνδρα . . . ὀνείρου (13.1) '*vision* . . . *man* . . . *dream*': the appearance obviously recalls the deceptive dream sent to Agamemnon by Zeus in Β 1–34. One difference is that this dream assumes the more definite shape of Nestor; another is that it promises victory (Β 29–31 νῦν γάρ κεν ἕλοις πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν | Τρώων, οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | ἀθάνατοι φράζονται), whereas the present dream merely throws the weight of its disapproval into Xerxes' balance and will only add (in 14) as a deterrent the consequences of adopting the other course and (to Artabanus in 17.2, with a reference to 14) the inescapability of τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. The response to a dream in H. is not predetermined: at 2.139.1–2 the Ethiopian Sabacos does not obey the promptings (συμβουλεύειν) of one, but he does take the hint reminding him that the sands have run out for him as ruler of Egypt, and in 2.141 his successor Sethon allows himself to be misguided by a dream holding out an ambiguous, if not downright false, promise of aid and victory. The response to dreams ascribed to non-Greeks by H., on what authority we shall never know, is no reliable measure for the response which he or his audience would regard as fitting.—For ὄψις cf. notes on 16 β 2 s.v. ὄψιες & 18.1

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[1] P. 28. C.J. Ruijgh emphasizes the 'rather less than obvious' in cases like these; according to him the basic meaning of δή rather is 'look here now!' (Dutch 'kijk nu eens hier!').

[2] As H.&W. would have it, who copied but apparently did not follow up STEIN's reference to 3.40.1, where the word used is κως. They add, following STEIN and ABICHT, that it 'throws the responsibility for the story on the Persians', which, as ABICHT notes, is in fact done by ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. The ironic use of που to convey doubt is more appropriate to dialogue. As to κως a rather wide and vague use of '*somehow*' accounts for all the contexts quoted by STEIN *ad* 3.40.1 καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε and by POWELL s.v. under the heading '5. *it seems*, in hesitant statement'.

[3] A construction with the following ἐν τῇ νυκτί as *'at some point (of time) in the night' is not supported by any parallel for a temporal use of κου (contrast 6.61.4 καὶ δή κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι), nor would it seem to be favoured by the position of unaccented κου after accented καί and δή.

[4] Pp. 34 & 147–8 respectively.

s.v. τὴν ὄψιν ... τοῦ ἐνυπνίου; for ὄνειρον cf. note on 16 β 1 s.v. ὄνειρον ... ἐῶντα.[1]

ὡς '*as*' with λέγεται[2] is the neutral mean between on the one hand, ὥσπερ, by which H. would implicitly countenance their version of the events, and on the other hand ὡς δή as in 3.105.1 αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὀδμῇ ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, by which H. seems to dissociate himself from the information he reports.

λέγεται '*is stated, claimed*': on differences between λέγειν and φάναι see below *ad* 16 β 1 s.v. φῄς.[3]

ἐδόκεε '(Xerxes) *had the impression, thought*', introducing and (12.2) concluding the dream; for the imperfect tense after the preceding εἶδε, cf. e.g. 1.108.1 ὁ Ἀστυάγης ... εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν· ἐδόκεέ οἱ ... φῦναι ἄμπελον ... 2 ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο κτλ, & 209.1 εἶδε ὄψιν εὕδων ... τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν κτλ, 3.30.2 εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεέ οἱ ἄγγελον ... ἀγγέλλειν, and contrast 2.141.3 ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον καί οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς κτλ.

ἐπιστάντα 'having stepped *up to*—,—come to stand *at the head of*—,—*by*—'[4] is a technical term of oneiric phenomenology/in describing the movements of dreams, cf. 14 below.[5] The use of the preverb ἐπι- in these descriptions can be taken more strictly as 'at the head of', to be understood as an extension or specialization of 'upon, on top of',[6] just as at 9.81.1 ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ

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[1] Pp. 240 & 273–4 and 237 respectively.

[2] As at 1.191.6 ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, 3.14.11 ὡς δὲ (om. **d**) λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον ... δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας, and 8.138.3 ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων.

[3] P. 236.

[4] Contrast Hettrich's treatment of the sequence ἐπιστάντα ... εἰπεῖν 1976, p. 25: 'Xerxes schien es, als würde ein großer und schöner Mann, nachdem er zu ihm getreten war, sprechen:' with that of Sicking 1996, p. 16: 'The A(orist)S(tem) participles can be described as instances of "clause chaining": the use of (chains of) non-finite clauses instead of (several) clauses in sentence [*sic*]. The participial clauses are *semantically* equivalent to paratactic clauses, referring to successive but not otherwise related actions: (. . .) *Xerxes dreamed that a man approached his bed and said to him* (. . .);'.

[5] Also at 1.34.1 & 38.1, 2.139.1 & 141.3, and 5.56.1.

[6] There is no need for such a separate heading as that of Powell s.v. '6. w. dat. pers. of dreams, *hover over*'.

τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, or more loosely as '(near)by', as at 3.78.4 καί οἱ (sc. τῷ μάγῳ) συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γωβρύης, συμπλεκέντος δὲ τοῦ Γωβρύεω τῷ μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεὼς ἠπόρεε οἷα ἐν σκότεϊ προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γωβρύην, ὁρῶν δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γωβρύης κτλ.

μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα '*tall and well-shaped*', '*—of goodly appearance*' enhances the resemblance between this passage and 5.56.1 ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἵππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα. The combination, far from being a male prerogative, graces women (3 x) famed to be μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πήχεων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής at 1.60.4, κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής at 3.1.3 and μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα at 5.12.1, and (2 x) children εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα at 3.3.1 and one μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν at 1.112.1.

12.2

'μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἁλίζειν Πέρσῃσι στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.'

1 βουλεύσαι SV: βουλεύεται C 2 Πέρσας **a** | στρατιὴν C 4 τὸν ὁδόν V[ac]

'*So you are changing your mind, Persian, to not leading an expedition force against Hellas, when you have first told the Persians to bring together an army? Well, neither are you doing well in changing your mind, nor is he present who will agree with you. No, just as you have decided to act during the day, do you go down that one among the roads (available to you).*'

μετὰ . . . στρατόν (;) '*So you are changing your mind, Persian, not to lead an expedition force against Hellas, when you have first told the Persians to bring together an army* (*?*)' (or '. . . *to not leading* . . .'): the decision whether to write an interrogation mark or not is in the end arbitrary. There is of course no genuine inquiry involved, but the tone is that of calling someone to account.

μετὰ . . . βουλεύεαι . . . **μὴ** . . . 'your later counsel is *not to* . . .' (construction): the infinitive construes with what is on its way to become a compound verb just as it would with mere βουλεύεαι, cf. s.v. βουλεύεαι below. For an infinitive of the simple verb with a negative cf. 7.175.2 ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον.

μετὰ . . . βουλεύεαι and **μεταβουλευ**όμενος 'you are *chang*ing your *mind*' (verb composition): for a common pattern of so-called tmesis in H. see above on 10 ε s.v. ἐπεάν (. . .) δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν;[1] the decision to write the participle *h.l.* as one word is perhaps no more than a matter of convention and convenience. The other instances of the verb in H. are at 1.156.1 οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι and 8.57.2 ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν.[2]

βουλεύ**εαι** and (μετα)βουλευ**όμενος** 'you *are* chang*ing* your mind' (tense): the present tense is appropriate as long as Xerxes has not formally

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[1] Pp. 119–20.
[2] Where μεταβαλέσθαι of **d** has little to recommend it.

revoked the order referred to by προείπας. After that his deliberations might be referred to by an imperfect, his resolve by an aorist tense, but some of the 16 instances of the simple verb with an infinitive complement listed by Powell s.v. III.2.a show that this does not amount to a hard and fast rule: with 4.148.2 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας . . . (3) συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, where it is implied that the deliberation did not result in a resolve, contrast 4.120.1 ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος . . . ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες κτλ where this is not implied, where on the contrary the words ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι κτλ in 4.121 imply that the deliberation did result in a resolve.[1] The criterion operative in the use of an imperfect seems to be whether the issue is the content of a decision or the fact of coming to a decision itself.[2]

μετὰ . . . **βουλεύεαι** 'you are changing your *plan*' (cross-references) recalls, and suggests that Xerxes has disregarded, Artabanus' general statement at 10 δ 2 above τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν.

δή '*clearly*', '*I see* (that . . .)', '*so*': the fact is plain to all parties concerned,[3] and Xerxes could not deny the allegation if he wished to. Similarly below, again with the dream speaking and again in clauses which can, but need not, be written as questions, 17.2 (to Artabanus) σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἷς ὁ κτλ, and preceded by another particle 14 καὶ δὴ φαινέαι.

ὦ (not to be translated): see above on 9.1 s.v. ὦ δέσποτα and 10 α 1 s.v. ὦ βασιλεῦ & η 1 s.v. ὦ.[4] The assertion that this vocable is found 'wenn die Anrede mit einem gewissen Affekte ausgesprochen wird' (KG I 48) should be qualified by the consideration that in general the use of the word is more frequent[5] and therefore less

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[1] In 4.11.3 the present tense is contrasted with an aorist in τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χώρην παραδιδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι, τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἑωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας . . . λογισαμένους κτλ.

[2] *H.l.* a distinction of content, while this is not what motivates the use of the present tense, might be found in μετά.

[3] Even to the dream-apparition, although C.J. Ruijgh objects that Xerxes' volte-face is 'new information' to it.

[4] Pp. 50 & 78 & 125 respectively.

[5] As KG themselves note.

significant than its omission. *H.l.* its occurrence at least fits in with the unceremonious way in which Xerxes is accosted by the dream.

Πέρσα '*Persian*': the only parallel for this unceremonious form of addressing an individual by his nationality in H. is 4.127.1 (the king of the Scythians to Darius) οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα.

προείπας ἁλίζειν '*having issued the command to assemble*...': the juxtaposition of these two verbs, which displaces the Πέρσῃσι who go with προείπας, directs us to represent graphically to ourselves a situation in which all were preparing for action: 'when you had given the order: "assemble"'. This fits in with the use of the present stem infinitive for an action which is understood in the context, and which would be sufficiently indicated by means of such a verb as 'proceed!'. The point in time here implied is presupposed by 8 δ 1 above ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκῃ παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα.

προείπας '*having proclaimed* (an order)': the preverb seems to connote a temporal relation, cf. 9.71.4 διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη and other uses of the passive perfect listed by POWELL s.v. 3–5, as well as a spatial one, just as English 'before' may do, and the context makes it clear that what has been 'spoken before*hand*' as well as '—before an *audience*' is a command rather than e.g. a prediction. Cf. προειρημένοισι 18.3 below, and above on 9 β 1 s.v. προείπωσι and on 10 δ 1 s.v. προαγόρευε.[1]

ἁλίζειν '*gather, bring together*', in seven out of 10 x in H. with armies or what belongs to them as object.[2] The distribution thus overlaps with that of συναλίζειν found below 13.1, which is used of soldiers in four (3 x medio-passive) out of 8 x, but the compound never in H. has a singular object, which suggests that the simple verb may be more appropriate to effected rather than affected objects, or to entities which are more intrinsically collective.

ὦν '*well*, ...', '*now* ...', '..., *then*, ...' marks the transition from a summing up of information shared by both parties to the communication from one party to the other which this information was intended to be relevant to; here from topic to comment and from

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[1] Pp. 64 & 107–8 respectively.

[2] The exceptions are two councils, 4.118.1 τοὺς βασιλέας ἁλισμένους and 7.172.1 ἁλισμένοι πρόβουλοι, and τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα which at 1.119.(6–)7 Harpagus ἔμελλε ... ἁλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

given to new.—Cf. on 11.4 above and 15.3 below s.v. and on 16 β 1 below s.v. (νῦν) ὦν.[1]

πάρα '*is* present' = πάρεστι (ABICHT, H.&W. citing Soph. *Ant.* 261 οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων παρῆν) or '*am* present' = πάρειμι (STEIN, citing Cratinus F 113/Hermippus F 52 K.-A. ὅδ' ἐγὼ πάρα)? It seems much the simplest solution to take πάρα as = πάρεστι except where the context would make this ungrammatical, as in the comic fragment quoted. That H. *h.l.* in fact uses the expression to make the speaker refer to himself is a matter of interpretation, i.e. an inference from the wider context and situation; he could have inserted ἐγώ, but it happens he hasn't. The effect of the present phrasing as distinct from e.g. οὔτε ὁ παρεὼν συγγνώσεταί τοι may be looked for on the formal side in (1) an incantatory parallelism with the preceding clause, and on the side of content in (2) a sinister and intimidating indirectness, and (3) a generalisation of the topic, which is not present company but the chances of meeting with acclaim: 'if you're looking for approval, don't expect any on *my* part'.

συγγνωσόμενος '*who will agree with*': the verb apparently denotes a 'joining (someone) in an insight' or the adoption of someone's viewpoint:[2] thus 1.89.3 συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἑκόντες προήσουσι and 4.43.6 Ξέρξης δὲ οὔ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα. Often the state of affairs involved is not desirable from the viewpoint of the subject which acquires the insight: 4.3.4 μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο, where συγγνόντες seems to add to μαθόντες the full realization of what it might mean to be 'our' slaves, i.e. for 'us' to treat them as our slaves; 4.5.4 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεοτάτῳ. Yet this subject is often accountable for it: 1.91.6 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ and 5.91.2 συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς, where we approach the notion of consciousness, if not of conscience.

The present instance may appear to be exceptional in that an action is condemned which is not that of the subject of the verb, but the sequel shows the relation of this use to others: in 13.2[3]

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[1] Pp. 169 & 211 & 235 respectively.

[2] VON FRITZ (1.246–8–9), while he repeats the traditional rendering 'verzeihen', adds the more illuminating paraphrase 'mit dir in Erkenntnis und Beschluss einig sein wird'.

[3] Where see note s.v. συγγνώμην . . . ἔχετε pp. 189–90.

συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται the ways of Xerxes' φρένες and βουλαί and the promptings of others are represented in spatial terms which turn the demanded συγγνώμη into a following a train of thought, and συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ[1] makes quite explicit the secondary character of συγγινώσκειν, which constitutes an understanding of other minds which may include the approval of superior wisdom, a willingness to compromise, and, as *h.l.*, the *comprendre* equated with *pardonner*.

ὁδῶν '*ways, roads*': the metaphor is common; of a piece with ἴθι here, it is extended by τραπέσθαι at 1.11.2 (Candaules' wife to Gyges) to ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι, at 6.52.6 in ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν,[2] at 1.117.2 to οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλίσκηται. Contrast 7.163.1 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἴχετο which by combining it with more alien verbs proves that what set out as metaphor has faded or sunk to the status of a secondary distinction of sense. 1.117.2 is at a farther remove in a different way, as referring to speech,[3] whereas *h.l.* the word retains its literal application to Xerxes' movements as well.

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[1] Cf. 9.122.3–4 Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας . . . ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς . . . (4) ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες ἑσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου.

[2] Where a way *to find out* is at issue, foreshadowing the notion of a μέθοδος '*way to go about* or *to attain*', cf. English '*procedure*' and '*approach*'.

[3] Just as 1.95.1 ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι and 2.20.1 ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδούς & 22.1 ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται are.

Third speech of Xerxes (13)

13.1

τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἴπαντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε·

1 εἰπόντα aDP 2 ὀνείρου] οὐνείρου A 3 ξυναλίσας C | τοὺς καὶ] τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ D: τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ RSV | ξυνέλεξε C | ἔλεξέ **a**

The man, having said these things, it was Xerxes' impression, flew away. When day had lit up he took no account of this dream; he assembled those Persians whom he had also gathered before, and spoke to them the following (words):

ἀποπτάσθαι *'fly away'*, as dreams will, cf. λ 222 ψυχὴ δ' ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται. The inverse movement (of the same dream) is mentioned in 15.3 below (Xerxes to Artabanus) ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ (τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον). Other non-animal flying objects identified in H. are rumours at 9.100.1–101.3 ἐσέπτατο φήμη, κληδών.

ἐπιλαμψάσης *'having lit up'*, of the sun in P 650 ἠέλιος δ' ἐπέλαμψε, in four out of 5 x in H. has ἡμέρη '(light of) day' for its subject. The exception is 8.130.1 (ὁ δὲ ναυτικός . . . ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ.) ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος (πρώιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον), which suggests a parallel between winter and night as periods of inaction; contrast 1.190.1 ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτείσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβὼν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, which with a different preverb ('a little', 'begin to') and with its imperfect tense after aorist finite verb and participle suggests the slow coming of a season after a time of waiting spent in a laborious exercise. The use of the preverb *h.l.* may be compared to that in ἐπιφαίνεσθαι at 16 γ 2 below of 'appearing to' someone, and so here of 'shining on someone,—for someone to see', even though the relation to the observer is expressed only where it is itself a subject for comment, at 8.14.1 in ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε.[1] At the same time both preverbs serve to make the verb refer to a punctual occurrence rather than to a lasting state.[2]

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[1] The remaining instances are 3.135.1 and 6.118.1.

[2] In addition it is possible to relate the preverb in this compound to the use listed by LSJ s.v. G.III.4 'to give force or intensity to the Verb, as in ἐπαινέω, ἐπιμέμφομαι, ἐπικείρω, ἐπικλάω'.

ὀνείρου μέν . . . ὁ δέ . . . '*of this dream he took no account, what* he *did was*': the pronoun is required to signal a change not of grammatical subject but of topic.

τούτου μὲν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο '*he took no account of that*', a common enough[1] idiomatic expression, usually with a negative,[2] but in the affirmative 4.65.2 ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιῆται and, with a specifying predicate or adjunct, 4.142 ὡς δούλων Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι. A corresponding passive is supplied by λόγος . . . γίνεται and —ἐστι.[3] The variation λόγον οὐδένα τινὸς ἔχειν[4] which is distinguishable only, if at all, as referring to a considered opinion rather than a single act of judgment, in all its three[5] occurrences appears in a contrast, whether between an earlier and a revised estimate[6] or between one opinion and that of another.[7] Virtual synonyms are ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ in 14 below and, with a variation of syntax paralleled in English, 1.33 οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενός 'nor holding him of any account', to which λόγου γίνεσθαι and εἶναι λόγου 'be(come) of (. . .) account'[8] serve as passives.

συναλίσας '*having assembled*': see on 12.2 s.v. ἁλίζειν above.[9] The word is a shade more colourful than the everyday synonym συνέλεξε which follows.

ἔλεγε '*he spoke* (the following words)' is preferable to the reading of **a** ἔλεξε, approximately *'he made a statement (the following)', not just because the latter is likely to have arisen under the influence of the previous word, but also because 'ἔλεγε usually opens a discussion when it precedes its corresponding utterance. Typically, it is found with participial phrases implying a meeting (summons, arrival, sending a messenger)' Dik 1995, p. 167.[10]

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[1] Examples in H. (13 x) are listed by Powell s.v. ποιέω B II 3.

[2] Which is only implicit at 1.117.1 Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο and similarly 7.156.1 Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο.

[3] Powell s.v. λόγος 5.a.

[4] Powell s.v. λόγος 5.b.

[5] 2.111.4 τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιόν ἐστι ἔχειν is nearer to λόγον περί τινος ποιέεσθαι and λόγος γίνεται ὡς (Powell s.v. λόγος 8).

[6] As at 1.62.2 & 115.3.

[7] Thus at 1.190.2.

[8] Powell s.v. λόγος 5.d.

[9] P. 184.

[10] See her discussion of verbs of speaking pp. 135–206. *H.l.* is cited by her p. 186. About the aorist she feels forced to admit (p. 165 n. 183) 'Unfortunately, the scant number of instances of ἔλεξε does not suggest any obvious distinguishing characteristics.'

13.2

'"Ανδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρῖψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ.'

2 οὔπω **aP** | παρηγορευόμενοι B: παρηγορεύμενοι **d** 3 κεῖνα C | ἀπέρχονται B | μέντοι] μὲν δὴ Bekker 5 χρεών **dP**

'Men of Persia, excuse my change of plan: for in my mind I have not yet reached my prime, and those who are talking me over into doing those things (we discussed before), do not for one moment keep off from me. When, however, I listened to Artabanus' view, immediately, it is true, my youth rose and seethed so as to make me cast on to an older man unseemlier words than (I) ought to (have); now, however, having come to the same view, I shall avail myself of his view.'

ἄνδρες Πέρσαι '*Men of Persia*': see note on 8 α 1 s.v.[1]

συγγνώμην . . . ἔχετε, properly 'have an understanding which comes together with (mine)', hence in this context '*make allowances, excuse*', cf. on 12.2 above s.v. συγγνωσόμενος.[2] The connection with the verb is kept in view by συγγνούς later in this speech. An instance in H. which implies the presence of an element of will besides one of insight is 1.116.5 κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν. The aspect of insight is preponderant in 2.110.3 (οὐκ ὦν δίκαιον εἶναι ἱστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι.) Δαρεῖον μέν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι, at 9.58.3 in a context involving the related notion of συνειδέναι which has developed into the modern concept of a conscience ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε, and in 1.39.1 συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. We should not take it for granted that application to actions, in which the use of γινώσκειν for decisions is operative, is

[1] P. 13.
[2] Pp. 185–6.

the same thing as application in a moral or psychological sense or sphere.—On συγγνώμη cf. POWELL 1935a, p. 76.

ἀγχίστροφα, properly '*turning close by*' as said of what can make a volte-face within a small space, like the hawk in Theogn. 1261 ἰκτίνου . . . ἔχεις ἀγχιστρόφου ἐν φρεσὶν ἦθος, a simile which at once illustrates, and indeed may have paved the way for, the metaphorical application to a change of mind. At Thuc. 2.53.1 in the pleonastic expression ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες, of the reversals of fortune brought on by the plague, the word appears to have settled into an extended and less graphic usage. In our context the spatial representation is continued in 15.2 τετραμμένῳ & 18.3 τράπομαι below.

ἐς . . . ἀνήκω '*have . . . come up to*': cf. above on 9 γ s.v. ἐς . . . ἀνήκει.[1]

τὰ . . . πρῶτα, literally '*the first*' may, like English 'prime', stand for '*the state of the highest perfection*' or '*the best part*' (*COD*[8] s.v.): thus in 6.86 α 2 τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον, 7.134.2 φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα.[2] The neuter plural expression is even applied to one man in 6.100.3 Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα.[3]

ἐμεωυτοῦ '*of myself*': similarly (of land) 1.193.3 ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἐνείκῃ.[4]

οὔκω '*not yet*': H. in 3.2–3 above makes Xerxes the first son born to Dareius after his accession to the throne, in 3.4 has Dareius reigning for 36 years, and in 9.108.1 credits Xerxes with a son old enough to be married. His νεότης, then, is relative to the riper age (πρεσβύτερον) of his uncle.

παρηγορεόμενοι (ποιέειν) '*talking over,—round* (into doing)', strictly 'to talk to a person so as to make him deviate from the course he had or would have taken': the verb is again found with explicit infinitive complements at 5.104.2 (middle voice) and (with a negative) 9.55.1

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[1] P. 72.
[2] Cf. the adverbial adjunct in 9.16.1 Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ.
[3] Cf. 9.78.1 Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω Αἰγινητέων ⟨ἐὼν COBET⟩ τὰ πρῶτα.
[4] Also, differing in word order only, 4.198.3 ἐπεὰν αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκῃ.

(active voice);[1] the result in both cases is an οὐκ ἔπειθε or -ον respectively. At 9.53.4–54.1 that verb, and a relevant complement, precede in ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον κτλ. It is hardly a coincidence that this one instance of the verb taking only a direct object is also the one in which the MSS. unanimously[2] report it as active. 'They put pressure *on* A.' as opposed to 5.104.2 πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ κτλ 'had often been talking Gorgus into rebelling against the king before, and now . . .', focusing less on the person and more on what one wants done.— The excuse, which is that which the suitors of Penelope provide Telemachus with at σ 231–2 ἐκ γάρ με πλήσσουσι παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος | οἵδε κακὰ φρονέοντες, is one that we have been prepared for from 5.1 τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο onwards and particularly throughout 6 above; it will be exploited by Artabanus at the beginning of his next speech in 16 α 1.

ἐκεῖνα '*those things*' which are on the far side of—which in the context implies: preceded—Xerxes' recent change of mind.[3] ταῦτα would have invited confusion with his ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύεσθαι. The two demonstratives in one context and with the same reference at 235.4 below ἢν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῇς . . . ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι and 5.91.2–3 ποιήσαντες ταῦτα . . . ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες.

μέντοι '. . ., *however*, . . .' (*bis*): the first instance in retrospect marks an opposition between Xerxes after and before he had heard Artabanus, the second a subordinate opposition between his primary and his final response. The two are thus operative each at a different level of organisation. Moreover they stand in different relations to their immediate contexts: the first instance introduces a new element and a shift away from the topic of giving ear to bad advice; the second is a more forceful substitute for the δέ which we have been prepared for by μέν, expressly indicating that the second of the two members is the more focal one, and echoing the first μέντοι so as to bring the whole complex round to close on Xerxes' final decision.[4] Cf. on 8 γ 1 above s.v.[5]

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[1] παρηγόρεον: παρηγόρευον D: παρηγορέοντο **a**.
[2] Suspected by Bekker, who conjectured παρηγορέοντο.
[3] C.J. Ruijgh proposes 'those things which you already know of quite some time', or possibly 'those other things' as opposed to ἀγχίστροφα.
[4] The change of the first instance to μὲν δή proposed by Bekker is uncalled for.
[5] P. 35.

ἐπέζεσε: the compound here alone in H., the simple verb 'to seethe' at 1.59.1 of λέβητες though in the absence of fire; 4.181.4 of the water of a source whose temperature varies with the hour of day ζέει ἀμβολάδην, i.e. with an ἀναβάλλειν 'throwing upwards' of water, at its hottest point; 4.205 of Pheretime ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε 'with worms';[1] and 7.188.2 of the sea (τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης). The word seems to denote the outward appearance as distinct from the actual heat of a boiling liquid, and the preverb may serve to suggest a parallel between the rising of Xerxes' temper and that of a liquid coming to the boil in a vessel. It may be that Ar. *Thesm.* 468 ἐπιζεῖν τὴν χολήν preserves a physiological foundation for representing mental phenomena in this way. Cf. *ib.* 466 ὀξυθυμεῖσθαι, *Ach.* 321 οἷον αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν θυμάλωψ ἐπέζεσεν ('piece of burning wood or charcoal'; 'as if he had said θυμός' LSJ s.v.); and by somewhat further extensions Eur. *Hec.* 583–4 δεινόν τι πῆμα Πριαμίδαις ἐπέζεσεν | πόλει τε τῆμῇ and (transitive) *I.T.* 987–8 δεινή τις ὀργὴ δαιμόνων ἐπέζεσεν | τὸ[2] Ταντάλειον σπέρμα διὰ πόνων τ' ἄγει.

ἀεικέστερα . . . ἢ χρεόν '*unseemlier . . . than* (I) *ought to* (have)': the comparative degree conveys that they are ἀεικέα rather than not—in the context: rather than οἰκότα or ἐπιεικέα—and the complement specifies that they are so as measured against τὸ χρεόν 'what is owing', hence '—fitting, meet'.

ἀεικέστερα . . . ἔπεα '*unseemlier . . . words*': the adjective applies to 'what is not like something' whether in the sense of (i) 'not as this or that particular thing (1) is like to be or (2) should be' or more generally (ii) 'not as things (1) are like to be or (2) should be': in other words it has reference to a norm which may be derived from the (i) subject or from a (ii) wider sphere, and in each case from (1) empirical reality or, ultimately based on this, (2) some (system of) value(s). These are distinctions of analysis; actual uses may involve more than one of them, as in 3.33 οὔ νύν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος exemplifies (i.1) shading into (ii.1). An instance of (ii.1) is 6.98.3 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον,[3] of

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[1] ἐξέζεσε **dP** Suid. s.v. εὐλαί: ἔζεσε **a** Lex.Vind. 71.
[2] πρὸς Page.
[3] Aesch. *Pr.* 1041–2 πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς | ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδὲν ἀεικές, which LSJ s.v. classify with the two instances last quoted under '2. οὐδὲν ἀεικές ἐστι, c. inf., it is nothing *strange* that . . .', is adequately accounted for by (ii.1): it is just what might be expected, but is compatible with (ii.2): it is only fitting, and with (i.2): it is no disgrace (to the subject).

(ii.2) 3.24.3 διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς οὔτε ὀδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν. *H.l.* (i.2) could be said to apply to Xerxes in relation to a πρεσβύτερον and (ii.2) to his words in relation to the comprehensive standard of τὸ χρεόν, with the reminiscence of ρ 215–6 τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νείκεσσεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν | ἔκπαγλον καὶ ἀεικές narrowing down the range of 'unseemliness' connoted.

ἀπορρῖψαι, literally '*to throw off*', 6 x in H., in five of them of disparaging or taunting words. Three of these besides *h.l.* are active verbs in the aorist;[1] the fourth, at 4.142 (reproaches of servility) ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθῃσι ἐς Ἴωνας ἀπέρριπται is passive and perfect just like the less straightforward use of 1.32.1 (Croesus to Solon) ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδέν, which may be related to the others if we take it that the object of the action from the words of rebuke has come to be the subject of rebuke, and that if a derogatory mention is an ἀπορρίπτειν, then a failure to mention at all is an ἀπορρίπτειν ἐς τὸ μηδέν.

χρεόν '(what) *ought to be*': also at 6.4, 17.2; cf. χρή 11.2, χρῆν 9 β 2 *bis*, χρήσει 8 δ 1, where see notes s.vv.[2]

συγγνούς 'having come to the *same understanding, view*', '—to *subscribe to* (it)': see note s.v. συγγνώμην . . . ἔχετε above.

χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ '*I shall avail myself of his understanding*', cf. 16 γ 3 below, following another temporal adjunct, τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι.

γνώμῃ '*understanding*': cf. 8 δ 2 above with note s.v. γνώμην & 10 θ 3 with note s.v. γνόντα.[2]

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[1] At 1.153.2: Cyrus on the Greeks as using a market economy; 6.69.4: Demaratus' mother answering his question about his father, ἀϊδρείῃ . . . τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος, resumed in 69.5 as ἀνοίῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο, and 8.92.2: associated with ἐπεκερτόμησε and ὀνειδίζων.

[2] Pp. 161–2 & 66 & 45 respectively.

[3] Pp. 49 & 148–50 respectively.

13.3

'ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι ἔστε.' Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον·

1 μεταδεδογμένων aP[1]: μεταδεδογμένου S 2 κεχαρηότες D[c]V | προσεκύνησαν D

'As it is my later resolution, then, not to have an expedition against Greece, be at rest.' As the Persians heard these words they, filled with joy, kneeled and kissed the ground before the king's feet.

ὡς . . . μεταδεδογμένον '*as being*—', i.e. '*as* it is my later resolution': this conjunction with an 'absolute' accusative also 9.42.4 ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων. In spite of the differences, (1) that ἥδεσθαι may take an object whereas ἥσυχοι εἶναι does not, and (2) that the clause with ὡς here precedes the main verb, this is an argument against an alternative analysis of *h.l.* as though ἐστι were to be understood.[1]

μεταδεδογμένον '*my later resolution*': the verb in H. also 4.98.(2–)3 (ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη . . . μετείσθω μοι . . .) ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε and 5.92 δ 1 δείσασα δὲ μή σφι μεταδόξῃ.—Cf. μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι in 12.2 above.

ἥσυχοι ἔστε '*be at rest*' primarily in the physical sense of desisting from the preparations for war demanded in 8 δ 1 and recalled by the first dream in 12.2 προείπας . . . στρατόν, and synonymous with ἡσυχίην ἄγειν found in 11.2 above, where see note.[2] To the same semantic field belongs ἀτρεμίζειν found at 8 α 1 above (*opp.* πολλὰ ἐπέπειν), where see note,[3] and 18.3 below.

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[1] On the difference between the 'absolute' accusative with and without ὡς cf. KG II 87–90 & 95–6: "Während der absolute Akkusativ ohne ὡς fast nur bei unpersönlichen Ausdrücken erscheint, wird er in Verbindung mit ὡς in weitestem Umfange auch bei bestimmtem Subjekte gebraucht, so dass er hier dem absoluten Genetiv im wesentlichen gleichsteht." (p. 95); cf. 9.42.4 quoted in the text. On ὡς + participle cf. *ibidem* p. 91: ". . . bezeichnet das Partizip mit ὡς dieselbe [die Eigenschaft] nur als eine subjektive, in der Ansicht oder Vorstellung des Redenden oder einer anderen Person vorhandene, mag dieselbe in Wirklichkeit bestehen oder nur angenommen sein." C.J. Ruijgh points out, that participles + ὡς often have sentence-initial position, when the main verb is an imperative (cf. the instances cited by KG II 93–4): the person addressed is *invited* to take the contents of the participial clause for a fact.

[2] P. 158.

[3] Pp. 15–16.

κεχαρηκότες '*filled with joy* or—*rejoicing*': of 24 x in H. six have reference to dismissing or leaving alone and letting be; eight are present participles accompanied by a negative, '(not) unhindered' or, of past action, '(not) without regret or requital'; the idiom οὐδ' ὧς χαιρήσει(ν) 'even so he will rue it' of 1.128.1 (and 6.76.2) is related. Half of the remaining eight instances of a more positive 'rejoicing' are perfect participles: at 3.27.3 they celebrate the coming of Apis, at 3.42.4 the fisherman is overjoyed at finding Polycrates' ring, at 5.1.3 the Perinthians acclaim their victors. The semantic proprium of the verb, then, is perhaps the notion of allowing/acknowledging and welcoming the nature or action of some outward object or party (or, in the idiomatic usages quoted first, of the subject itself), as distinct both from the sense and awareness of enjoyment denoted by τέρπειν (8.99.1), τέρπεσθαι (2.78 and 8.69.1) and τέρψις (7.39.1), and from the sensual[1] or quasi-sensual pleasure and consequent well-being denoted by ἥδεσθαι, with which it is found in one context at 8.101.1 in ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη.[2] This would go together well with the application of χάρις both to favours done and to thanks given.[3]

προσεκύνεον '*kneeled* and *kowtowed* (or *kissed* the *feet of* or the *ground before* the king)': of 9 x in H. seven are present stem verb forms; an aorist is found *h.l.* as the reading of D, and at 1.119.1 in ὡς ἤκουσε

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[1] Thus in 1.119.5 (*bis*) of Harpagus' meal, true to the single occurrence in Homer at ι 353–4 (Odysseus on the Cyclops) ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δὲ δέκτο καὶ ἔκπιεν· ἥσατο δ' αἰνῶς | ἡδὺ ποτὸν πίνων καί μ' ᾔτεε δεύτερον αὖτις. In both contexts οὐ χαίρων ἥσθη, and when an Egyptian host shows around an image of a dead man and utters the Khayyam-like exhortation ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος (2.78), the τέρψις he calls for includes, besides the ἡδονή of the wine, an element of ratiocination, just as that involved in 8.69.1 quoted in the next footnote, and in 7.39.1 on the workings of θυμός, quoted *ad* 11.1 s.v. θυμωθείς above p. 152.

[2] A very telling context of τέρπεσθαι and ἥδεσθαι is 8.69.1–2, where (1) Artemisia's enemies ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς, i.e. they derive satisfaction from a consideration of its consequences, and (2) Xerxes κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ 'Αρτεμισίης καὶ . . . αἴνεε, i.e. is greatly pleased by it and applauds it, or her—but does not follow it up: ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε. On the above hypothesis ἐχάρησαν would be admissible in (1) only if they welcomed her words as the way out of an existing deadlock or on some similar condition, and ἐχάρη in (2) only if Xerxes in fact adopted her view.—The reluctance of all the king's counselors except Mardonius to go to war was implied, especially by τολμώντων, in 10.1 σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ.

[3] As well as with the idiomatic use of the internal or adverbial accusative χάριν with the genitive as a quasi-prepositional adjunct.

ταῦτα προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε . . . καὶ ὅτι . . . ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, the only singular form with a definite and particular reference in H.,[1] for one item in a sequence of events. At 8.118.4 in τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν there is a sequence too, but an aorist would imply that the last of them had finished his greeting before the first of them jumped off, and would suggest that they all performed each of the two actions at the same time, as far as this is physically possible for the correct form of προσκύνησις. At 3.86.2 in οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρεῖον too the choice of an imperfect tense is at least very well compatible with the supposition that the six conspirators make their obeisance one after the other.

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[1] As opposed to the indefinite and general reference of 1.134.1 ἢν δὲ ᾖ οὕτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται, ἢν δὲ πολλῷ ᾖ οὕτερος ἀγεννέστερος προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἕτερον.

Second speech of the Dream (14)

14

νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν· 'Ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, ἤν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσει· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι.'

1 ἔλεγε post ὄνειρον **dP** 2 ἀπιστᾶν D 3 ποιησάμενος **aP** 4 αὐτίκα] αὐτὸς D 5 τοι] οἱ C | ἀνασχήσειν C | πολὺς **dP**

When night had come and Xerxes had fallen asleep, the same dream once again stood by him and spoke: 'So you really, son of Dareius, show yourself in the midst of the Persians (to be) cancelling your military expedition and making light of my words as though you had heard them from nobody! Now know this well: if you do not make your expedition at once, the outcome of this for you will be the following: just as you have also grown to be both mighty and great within a short time, so you will also be low again speedily.'

αὖτις '*over again, once again, once more*': see on 12.1 above s.v.[1] *H.l.* we have a simple case of repetition.

ὄνειρον '*dream*': for the varying gender see on 16 β 1 below s.v. ὄνειρον . . . ἐῶντα.[2]

κατυπνωμένῳ '(having fallen) *asleep*': for this compound see on 12.1 above s.v. κατύπνωσε and 16 γ 3 below s.v. κατυπνῶσαι.[3] Contrast ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται 'the attempt (on Candaules' life) will be made *in his sleep*' 1.11.5, and ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ μάγου ἤφασσε τὰ ὦτα 3.69.6, where no reference to the *passage* from being awake to sleeping is implied.

ἔλεγε '*spoke*': the word order ὄνειρον ἔλεγε of **dP** may have arisen from an attempt to clarify the syntax by making the dative τῷ Ξέρξῃ construe with ἐπιστάν only or primarily.—For ἔλεγε cf. on 11.1 above s.v. 'Αρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε.[4]

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[1] Pp. 176–8.
[2] P. 237.
[3] Pp. 178 & 259–60 respectively.
[4] P. 151.

ὦ παῖ Δαρείου '(you) *son of Dareius*', cf. 10 η 1 above ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω [Μαρδόνιε del. Naber]:[1] '*noblesse oblige*' VAN GRONINGEN, but this does not exclude a reminder that the person addressed has not attained the wisdom of a mature age; or that he does not derive his present authority from personal merit only or mainly, and therefore still has to justify it.

καὶ δή '*actually*', '*really and truly*': to the use of δή, also found in 12.2 above where see note s.v.,[2] & 17.2 below σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἷς κτλ, for what is undeniably the case though it should not be so, καί adds the attention paid to a separate statement of what is a fact in its own right. Things 'have *come so far* that . . .'; the dream can hardly believe its putative eyes, so to speak. For adverbial, i.e. non-coordinating, καί with δή, now not with a clause but with a noun phrase, cf. 9.66.3 προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας, where δή serves to convey that the observation is as expected.

ἐν Πέρσῃσι '*among* the Persians', i.e. 'for the Persians *to see*'.

τε (. . . **καί** . . .) '*both* (. . . and . . .)' shows ἐν Πέρσῃσι to belong with ἀπειπάμενος rather than with φαίνεαι.—Cf. on 5.2 above s.v. τε . . . καί.[3]

ἀπειπάμενος . . . ποιεύμενος '*cancelling*' or 'having *cancelled*' and '. . . *making* . . .' respectively: (tense) the implication of the aorist[4] is not so much that Xerxes has done so *before* appearing in public as that the process of μεταβουλεύεσθαι has ended in his coming up with a decision. That of the present tense is that the disregarding of the words of the dream obtains at the moment of speaking and as long as this decision is not revoked; the aorist ποιησάμενος of **a**P represents an attempt towards uniformity.

ἀπειπάμενος '*cancelling*' or 'having *cancelled*' (lexical), a 'doing away (with)' and rejection in word or thought, denotes at once the inward renunciation and the public expression of this, and presumably only implies the countermand ('call off'): cf. προείπας in 12.2 and 1.205.1 ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ . . . ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις . . . ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. There is thus a difference from active ἀπειπεῖν which,

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[1] Where see note s.v. παῖ Γωβρύεω p. 125.
[2] P. 183.
[3] P. 7.
[4] Contrast the following ἀκούσας.

taking a personal object and lacking the presupposition of an earlier commitment or other partaking in the widest sense, may be equivalent to 'forbid': 3.153.1 ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονός,[1] although at 7.205.3 the future active in εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην corresponds to the aorist medium at 4.120.4 & 125.2 in (τῶν χωρέων and ἐς . . . τὴν γῆν respectively) τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην.

στρατηλασίην '*military expedition*', literally 'driving an army' (10 x), is both a more specific term and a more impressive word than the roughly equally frequent (12 x) στρατηίη and in this sense infrequent (4 x, as against over 200 x of 'army') στρατιή. Still, at 8.140 α 3 in τῆς στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα it is seen to approach the concrete application to the army engaged in the expedition rather than the expedition of the army. The other two nouns show an overlap in distribution in the expressions ἀπολελύσθαι στρατηίης at 4.84.2 and παράλυσον τῆς στρατιῆς at 7.38.3, which does not leave much ground for preferring either noun in the expression ἀτελείην στρατ(η)ίης as read by different MSS. (without η in **d**) at 3.67.3. But it is perhaps safe to say that στρατιή is primarily the army as a body, στρατηίη its use or uses, and στρατηλασίη a particular use. It may be noted that all στρατηλασίαι in H. are Persian.—Cf. στρατηλατέης below.

οὐδενός '*nobody*' in the sense of English '*a* nobody, a person of *nought*', though less common than the corresponding metaphoric use of the neuter as in the phrase οὐδὲν λέγειν 'talk rubbish', is yet a common enough idiom for a plural to be derived from it, e.g. in H. at 9.58.2 (Mardonius) ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο.

νυν '(Know this well), *now*: . . .' or '*Now* (. . .)':[2] very commonly following μέν, as above in 7 (*bis*), 8 α 1 & β 2[3] & δ 2, and 10 ζ,[4] the

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[1] Also 1.152.3 & 155.4 and, in a context including another instance of προειπεῖν as well as one of προλέγειν, cf. προλέγω 10 θ 2 and προαγορεύειν 10 δ 1 above, and of the present stem ἀπαγορεύειν corresponding to the active aorist ἀπειπεῖν 'forbid', 4.125.6 (4 Ἀγάθυρσοι . . . ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθῃσι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν . . . προλέγοντες ὡς . . . (5) Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα . . .) οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο.

[2] Cf. εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Θ 32 & 463, Σ 197 (C.J. Ruijgh). On the 'asyndeton' cf. BROUWER 1975, p. 61.

[3] Where see notes s.v. μέν νυν pp. 17 & 29 respectively.

[4] Where see note p. 121 s.v. μέν νυν (. . . δέ).

particle is found 14 x in H. with an imperative[1] or other expression of wish or will[2]—an affinity which is preserved in many instances of its compound τοίνυν, if not in those found above at 5.1 & 9 β 2.[3]

(ἤν) **περ** '*if*', 'supposing that': the particle conveys that the clause specifies a, or perhaps the, *sufficient condition* for Xerxes' downfall: similarly 4.133.2 ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν ἤκομεν φέροντες ἤν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν 'if (only) you are prepared to listen'.[4] The other instances of ἤν περ in H. are 6.57.4 δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα· πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν ἤν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ κτλ 'in the case that—, in any case in which the, her father does not . . .' and, at 8.60 α, ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν ἤν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν, where the point is that success in other actions would *not* be a sufficient condition for *holding* Salamis &c. The difference with the other contexts quoted is in καί, which presupposes that (in the eyes of Themistocles, Eurybiades, or both) success in other actions would make the loss of Salamis &c. unlikely: the assessment implicitly denied is 'we can *hold* Salamis &c. ἤν περ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν *if*, that is, we succeed elsewhere', '—barring overall failure'. *H.l.* there is a similar presupposition 'you may flatter yourself that you can back out of this expedition without losing all'. So ἤν περ denotes a sufficient condition when the focus is on the *necessity* of the *consequence*; contrast the otherwise quite similarly expressed consideration of *both* of a pair of alternatives at 7.235.(1–)4 (εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας . . .) ἤν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῇς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι, where the focus is on how much *depends* on whether the *condition* is fulfilled (by the addressee) or not.

At 16 γ 1 below in φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι

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[1] Including the present phrase but with ἐξεπίστασο 7.39.1; the fossilized imperative φέρε 2.105; an oracle 5.92 β 3 (ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε).

[2] As at 10 η 1 above μή νυν οὕτω γένηται and 9.16.2 ἐπεί νυν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω ἵνα κτλ. In one context at 3.122.3–4 the appeal implied in (3) σύ νυν ὧδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεωυτόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ is followed by the explicit appeal (4) σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν.

[3] Where see note s.v. pp. 68–9.

[4] Also 5.98.2 ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης . . . σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν ἤν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι.

the clause marked by περ specifies the sufficient condition for the non-appearance of the dream to be significant, and so for the outcome of the experiment of seeing whether it will address Artabanus to be decisive: if it isn't going to show up anyway we can spare the trouble of dressing up, and if it is, then there is no fooling it.—On εἴπερ cf. BAKKER 1986, pp. 152–6 and WAKKER 1994, pp. 315–29.

αὐτίκα 'at once'. While the derivation is quite uncertain,[1] it seems fairly safe to assume that the word was used *as though* it consisted of αὐτ- 'the very' and -ίκα referring to time as in ἡνίκα &c.[2] Also 1.2 above & 19.2 below. It is implied that any reluctance to implement τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι (17.2) is a nearly capital offence. Cf. παραυτίκα in 10 ζ above with note s.v.[3]

στρατηλατέῃς '*make your expedition*': cf. στρατηλάτεε 5.2 with note s.v.[4] and note s.v. στρατηλασίην above.

ἀνασχήσει 'will *arise, emerge*': the (intransitive) active is applied (4 x) literally to what, or who,[5] rises above a surface of water, more or less as ἀνίσχειν is applied (6 x) to the sun.[6] There is one similar figurative instance at 5.106.3 (Histiaeus to Dareius) ἐμὲ βουλεῦσαι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχήσειν. For the neutral, not favourable value of the preverb cf. the commoner verb ἀναβαίνῃ in 10 θ 2 above with note s.v.[7]

(ὡς) **καί . . . καί . . .** (οὕτω) **καί . . .**: the first καί could be related either to the second, '*both* mighty *and* great'[8] or to the third, '(as you

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[1] Three proposals are listed by SCHWYZER p. 629 Zusatz 1.
[2] Cf. τηνικάδε 'at this time (of day)', πηνίκα 'at what (precise point of) time', which suggests that the basic meaning of αὐτ-ίκα is 'at the very moment' (C.J. Ruijgh).
[3] P. 124.
[4] P. 6.
[5] Of Scyllias δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν 8.8.2.
[6] C.J. Ruijgh suggests that σχήσω serves as future to 'terminative' ἴσχω as ἕξω does to 'durative' ἔχω.
[7] Pp. 140–1. Another approximately synonymous but rarer compound is found at 3.62.4 in (εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστέασι προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ) οὐ μή τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστῃ. This figurative use is helped by the different but related notion of ἀναστῆναι, as that of 5.92 δ 1 ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἠετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν is made even easier by γόνου and that of 7.156.2 (Gelon) τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε καὶ ἦσάν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· (2) αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον by the fact that the subject is concrete and terrestrial.
[8] This reading would make it a more emphatic alternative to μέγας τε καὶ πολλός as found in 4.109.2 quoted in the next note of the main text.

have) *also* (become mighty and great in a short while, so you will) *also* (be laid low again in a short while)', or, perhaps most naturally, to both.

(καὶ) **μέγας καὶ πολλός** '*mighty and great*': the combination is applied to a concrete object at 4.109.2 λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή. The application of μέγας to a magnitude not measurable in space, hence to power, authority, or importance, is idiomatic; the most obvious cases in point are βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας[1] and similar applications to physical persons in a non-physical sense.[2] The use of πολλός for a quantity which cannot be counted, as in the application of the singular to non-collective, not readily divisible entities, is rarer in H., but cf. 7.158.1 οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε.

ταπεινός '*humble*, (laid) *low*': the only other instance in H. is 4.191.3 of the Libyan sands east of the river Triton as opposed to the mountainous (ὀρεινή) farm-land to the west. In the metaphorical application it is an issue between Zeus and Prometheus: Aesch. *Pr.* 320 (Oceanus to Prometheus), 908 (Prometheus about Zeus). For the opposition to μέγας cf. Eur. fr. 716.3–4 N.[2] τά τοι μέγιστα πολλάκις θεὸς | ταπείν' ἔθηκε. The present context recalls the simile of 10 ε above in which it was the other extreme that was marked on a vertical scale: ὑπερέχοντα (ζῷα and πάντα), with μέγιστα (οἰκήματα and (τοιαῦτα) δένδρεα) now an associated term, and opposed to σμικρά. There πολλός was used of the army whose chances were represented in this simile, but which, coming after a piece of advice to Xerxes, and between the ζῷα and the similarly individualised οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν, at the same time looks like an oblique reference to the king himself.

ὀπίσω '*back* (again)' may either be taken to represent Xerxes' rise and fall as an, in the context of ταπεινός vertical, movement to and fro; contrast e.g. αὖτις, for which see on 12.1 above s.v.,[3] or perhaps with a reference to time as '(ὀπίσω soon) after', '(a little) later', 'in the (near) future'.

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[1] 1.188.1 & (dative) 192.1, 8.140 β 4, βασιλεὺς μέγας 5.49.7.

[2] 6.98.3 Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος, 7.156.3 τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων. 2.173.2 (Amasis chided by his friends for disorderly behaviour) σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται κτλ resembles *h.l.*; 6.30.1 ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὖτις μέγας παρὰ βασιλέϊ γένηται focuses on (Histiaeus') influence in relation to one person.

[3] Pp. 176–8.

Fourth speech of Xerxes (15)

15.1

Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον [ἐπὶ] Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα. ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· 'Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς·'

1 γενόμενος] ἐγένετο **a** | ὄψει L 2 καὶ om. C | ἐπὶ om. **dP** | ἀπιγμένῳ P | οἱ om. **dP** | ἔλεξε DSV 3 ἐφρόνεον **a** 4 ἐς om. **a** | εἵνεκε(ν) **d** | συμβουλίης **a**

Xerxes, utterly scared by the vision, started up from his couch and sends a messenger to call Artabanus. When he had arrived, Xerxes spoke to him the following (words): 'Artabanus, I at first was not in my right mind, speaking in your face gratuitous words touching (your) sound advice.'

περιδεής '*utterly scared*': the only other instance in H. is at 5.44.1, of the inhabitants of Croton as they were going to be attacked by those of Sybaris.—For περι- cf. περικαλλής in 5.3 above.

ἀνά . . . ἔδραμε, literally '*ran up*': the verb (8 x, five of them in tmesis with τε)[1] is used by H. (1) of plants[2] and, as in Homer,[3] of people and peoples implicitly likened to these[4] as *shooting up*, and (2) of persons *starting up*.[5] At 3.78.1 ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον . . . ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο this use shades into the likewise Homeric[6] use for (3) *running back*. A comparison with 18.1 below ἀναθρῴσκει καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ κτλ suggests that both the movement upwards and that towards an object or away from it are comprehended by the preverb.[7]

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[1] Cf. note on 12.2 above s.v. μετὰ . . . βουλεύεαι and μεταβουλευόμενος p. 182.
[2] 8.55 ὥρων βλαστὸν . . . ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.
[3] Σ 56 & 437 ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος.
[4] At least implicitly: 1.66.1 (65.1 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . .) οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθενήθησαν and 7.156.2 (1 αἱ Συρήκουσαι·) αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον.
[5] 7.212.1 βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ is similar to *h.l.*; at 3.36.4 ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω the direction rather than the point of departure is specified; 7.218.1 ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ . . . ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα lacks any adjunct of place.
[6] Π 813 ὁ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε, Λ 354, Ρ 297, Ψ 717—though these refer to running back *from* a sally.
[7] At 3.64.2 & 3 in ἀναθρῴσκει, -σκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον these movements coincide.

πέμπει '*sends*': coordinated with ἀνά . . . ἔδραμε by τε . . . καί and followed by the imperfect ἔλεγε the historical present invites comparison with 3.36.4 ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω;[1] its main use seems to be to express the immediacy of Xerxes' response.

[ἐπί] '[*to*]', yielding the construction '*to Artabanus to call him*': the reading of **d**P without the preposition is preferable as a *lectio difficilior*, on the assumption that a scribe failed to appreciate that of the two juxtaposed masculine singular accusatives the first is to be construed with the finite verb preceding it but the second with the participle following it.[2]

καλέοντα '*to call*': the future tense of the verb, of which this is the only instance in H. according to POWELL s.v. *init.*, in this and other forms is indistinguishable from the present tense in his dialect.[3]

'Αρτάβανε: cf. note on 11.1 s.v.[4]

τὸ (παραυτίκα) '*at first*': the addition in meaning made by the article is almost negligible,[5] yet it seems appropriate that Xerxes uses it here, where he fully intends to state his dilemma, but not in 13.2, where his mistake had to be faced but what he wanted to focus on were his present more mature thoughts, or in 10 ζ, where similarly the concession that the good in question is not apparent at once is merely a foil for the assertion that it will be so in due course. The article, then, marks that use of παραυτίκα which differentiates it most from simple αὐτίκα. Contrast Thuc. 1.36.1 ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν, where τὸ αὐτίκα is not what is at *first* but what is *at hand*.—Also ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν 17.2 below.[6]

ἐσωφρόνεον '*was . . . of sane mind, in my right mind*': of the two other contexts in H. the most explicit is 3.35.2, where Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ ἐμὲ (Cambyses) μὴ σωφρονέειν resumes 34.3 νῦν ἄρα μέ φασι Πέρσαι οἴνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα

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[1] Quoted in footnote 5 p. 203 above.

[2] MACAN's solution of putting καλέοντα between square brackets presupposes a corrector whose accomplishments cry for a better employment.

[3] Cp. POWELL 1938, p. 214.

[4] P. 153.

[5] The article may, as suggested by C.J. Ruijgh, serve to stress the function of τὸ παραυτίκα as Theme as defined by Functional Grammar (cf. footnote 3 to the note on ἡμέας in 8 β 3 p. 33): '*as to* my initial reaction . . .'.

[6] Where see note s.v. τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν p. 268.

as one of a pair of alternatives (35.1) εἴτε λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι, and 35.4 ἐγώ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι takes up the other alternative, all of which establishes σωφρονέειν and εἶναι νοήμονα on the one hand as antonyms of παραφρονέειν and μαίνεσθαι on the other hand. The remaining instance is at 3.64.5, where the same king ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δέ κτλ: 'came to his senses'. Xerxes' confession *h.l.* is going well beyond his admission that he had not reached the prime of his φρένες at 13.2 above. Oriental despots in H. are more prone to disturbances of the φρένες than the average mortal.

εἴπας '*having said*': there is no sequence implied, but only that Xerxes deserved to count as disturbed from the moment he received Artabanus' χρηστὴ συμβουλή through the moment he uttered his μάταια ἔπεα down to the moment when he μετέγνω. His words are the definite manifestation of his mental condition.

μάταια '*idle, gratuitous*' is what Xerxes at 11.1 above first called Artabanus' ἔπεα and what Artabanus in his turn had called Mardonius' λόγους defaming their Greek adversaries at 10 η 1, where see note s.v. ματαίους.[1]

χρηστῆς '*worth having, sound*': cf. 9 β 2 above with note s.v. χρηστῷ & 16 α 1 below with note s.v. χρηστά.[2]

εἵνεκα '*(as) touching*', also above 8 γ 1, (Xerxes) τούτων . . . εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι & 10 η 1 (Artabanus to Mardonius) αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν, both of which instances are farther on the way from the etymological connection alleged by CHANTRAINE[3] with the stem ἐνεκ- 'porter jusque, atteindre' found in ἐνεγκεῖν, to the common use for a reason or purpose.

συμβουλῆς '*counsel, advice*': though one might expect συμβουλίη to refer more generally to the function of serving as a σύμβουλος,[4] as opposed to συμβουλή as the individual offering, there is in actual

[1] Pp. 126–7.
[2] Pp. 69 & 220 respectively.
[3] S.v. ἕνεκα, referring to CHANTRAINE 1962, pp. 15–22; cf. s.v. διηνεκής.
[4] Found at 7.50.3 preceding an uncontested instance of συμβουλίη quoted in the main text, at 8.101.2 following an instance in which PRSV have συμβουλή (101.1), as well as at 5.24.2 & 4.

usage little to choose between the form printed by Hude and συμβουλίης of **a**: among a combined total of 10 x in H. there is only one instance (1.157.3 συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι) in which the shorter form is unanimously transmitted. Those in which the longer is are 3.125.1 πάσης συμβουλίης ἀλογήσας, 7.51.1 σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι & 135.3 οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἡ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα, and, very similar to *h.l.*, 4.97.6 ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίης χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι. An argument for preferring the latter form here as well might, given its strong manuscript support, be found not so much in the general resemblance between these two contexts as in the fact that both of them have regard to what the σύμβουλος gets in return for his good offices.

15.2

'μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκ ὦν δυνατός τοί εἰμι ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιέειν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται.'

2 ὑπέθηκας SV 2–3 ποιέειν βουλόμενος **dP** 3 δὴ om. **a** | ἐπίφοιτον **d** 4 συνέπαινον ἐὸν **d**: συνεπαινέον ABP: ξυνεπενέον C 5 δὴ ἀπειλῆσαν **d**: ἀπειλῆσαν B

'*After not much time, however, I changed in understanding, and I understood that what I had to do were those things which you advised (me to do). Now (I want you to take the point that) I am not able to do these things, wish to as I may, for while I have changed my course and come to a new understanding, there shows itself before me a dream paying visits to me, which is by no means approving of my doing these things; and now it actually uttered a threat before it was gone.*'

μετέγνων . . . ἔγνων δέ . . . μετεγνωκότι '*I changed in understanding . . . and I understood . . . arrived at a new understanding*': the parallels in H., at 1.40 in ὡς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω μετίημί τέ σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην & 86.6 καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι . . . πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα . . . καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς κτλ, followed in 1.87.1 by the single instance in H. of the noun μετάγνωσις, share with the present context the characteristic of a fulness of expression verging on the pleonastic. This is explained by the observation that the verb, which is first found in Aeschylus,[1] shows considerable variation in construction and precise interpretation; it does not form part of any cut and dried psychological vocabulary.

ποιητέα '*(having) to be done*': see on 8 δ 2 above s.v.[2]

ἐόντα '*being*': the parallel of 9.60.2 δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν as contrasting with ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν (i.e. past tense) at 1.191.1 and ἵνα . . . βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται (future) at 8.40.1 suggests that the copula *h.l.* was less than indispensable.[3]

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[1] *Suppl.* 111 (?) and *Ag.* 221, both in sung verse.
[2] P. 48.
[3] On the use of εἶναι in combination with the personal and the impersonal construction of the verbal adjective in -τέος cf. Kahn 1973, pp. 147 and 179–80 respectively. C.J. Ruijgh suggests that ποιητέα ἐόντα may reflect *ἔστι ποιητέα in an independent clause, where the use of ἔστι comes close to the 'veridical' use of ἔστι in the sense of 'is *truly* . . .'.

ὑπεθήκαο '*you suggested, advised*': the parallels (26 x) such as 3.3 above ὑποτιθέμενος[1] and 237.2 ὑποθέοιτο & 239.4 below ὑπέθετο leave no doubt that this reading is preferable to ὑπέθηκας of SV; the only instance of the active in H. ὑποτιθέντι at 2.136.2 has a security (ἐνέχυρον) for its object, cf. hypothec(-ate, -ary).

οὐκ ὦν '*now (the point is)* I am *not*...': see on 11.3 s.v., and for an idiomatically specialised use cf. on 10 β 2 above s.v.[2]

ποιέειν '*(to) do*': for an explanation of the use of the present stem infinitive in terms of (1) the non-specific reference (ταῦτα) and (2) the fact that a matter of policy is involved, see Stork 1982, pp. 332–3, where *h.l.* is contrasted with 1.29.2 αὐτοὶ ... οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι and 8.22.2 εἰ ... ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι.[3]

τετραμμένῳ '*having turned,—changed (my) orientation,—course, direction*': from the spatial origin preserved in χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος at 1.148.1 it is one step to a still largely concrete πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον at 1.63.1, and another to the application to such pursuits and other imponderables as in βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτῃ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σκυθικῇ ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαίδευτο at 4.78.3 and in Ἱστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἱρεόμενοι at 4.137.3, cf. below 16 β 1 τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω sc. (α 2) γνώμην and 18.3 ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι.[4]

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[1] The noun ὑποθήκη is in 3.4 (*bis*).

[2] Pp. 163–6 & 90–2 respectively.

[3] For an approach in terms of 'focal' and 'topical' information, ποιέειν containing 'topical', given information as opposed to the more focal βουλόμενος and brand-new οὐ ... δυνατός, see Sicking 1996, pp. 106–18.

[4] At 9.33.5 ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας & 34.2 ὁ δὲ ... ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους the uses of the verb not either construed with a complement within the same clause or explained in some paraphrase are to be understood in the light of the preceding descriptions of the behaviour shown by the different parties with whom Tisamenus and Melampus are negotiating, (33.5) Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες ... μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνας ... τέλος δὲ ... καταίνεον μετιόντες and (34.2) οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων ὡς ἐμαίνοντο [...] πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν οὕτω δὴ ... ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα respectively.

δή '. . ., *then*, . . .': as was seen and stated previously and is verbally repeated in μετεγνωκότι. Cf. on 8 β 1 above and 16 γ 1 below s.v.[1]

ἐπιφοιτῶν '*paying visits (to me)*': the simple verb φοιτᾶν (40 x) usually refers to (1 *a*) a repeated[2] coming of one subject, in one case in H. to (1 *a* 1) the appearance of a dream,[3] or (1 *b*) 'distributively' a successive coming of several subjects,[4] to some place; and in particular, euphemistically, to (2) sexual intercourse.[5] The preverb ἐπι- does not so much modify the meaning of the verb as bring out various distinctions contained in it: of 9 x in H. five correspond to (1 *a*),[6] four of which to (1 *a* 1),[7] and two to (1 *b*),[8] above. At 9.28.2 οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων is different just to the extent that the complement implied by ἐπι- are οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες—in other words, earlier φοιτῶντες rather than what they went *to*, which is the type of complement implied e.g. in the application to dreams. This could be understood as a reinforcement of distinction (1 *b*) of the simple verb. Only at 1.112.1 in ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἁρπάγου ἐποψομένους there seems to be insufficient ground for assuming that a repeated or distributive arrival is intended. Here one might consider resorting to some wider and presumably more basic sense such as 'coming to a particular destination with a definite purpose', which would likewise apply to the simple verb at 6.49.2 in ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο φοιτῶντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων

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[1] Pp. 28 & 245 respectively.

[2] Expressly so at 1.73.4 αἰεί, 2.2.4 πολλάκις, cf. the compound at 2.73.1 σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ quoted n. 6 below.

[3] At 17.1 below, of the same appearances of the dream which *h.l.* are referred to by means of the compound.

[4] Expressly so at 7.22.1 ὤρυσσον . . . παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων.

[5] Already in Homer: Ξ 296 εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε; cf. 'to see a woman' (C.J. Ruijgh). In H. 5.70.1 τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα, and elsewhere in H. of women: 3.69.6 ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτῶσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, 4.1.3 αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τοὺς δούλους. Other instances by some explicatory addition bring out the continuity with (1): 1.182.2 ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν, 2.66.1 ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλεαι, οὐκέτι φοιτῶσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας, οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι & 111.2 ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος.

[6] The one that does *not* have a dream for its subject is 2.73.1 σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, of the phoenix.

[7] Below at 16 β 1 & γ 2 (*bis*) as well as *h.l.*

[8] 1.97.1 πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος (i.e. πλῆθεος ἀνθρώπων or the like), 3.6.2 ὁ ἐπιφοιτῶν κέραμος 'imported'.

κτλ, and may be relevant to the euphemistic use under (2).—Cf. on 16 β 1 below s.v. ἐπιφοιτᾶν.[1]

φαντάζεται '*makes appearances, shows itself*': see on 10 ε above.[2]

μοι '*to me, before me*': though the dative pronoun supplies an all but indispensable object to φαντάζεται, it may secondarily be related as an adjunct to ἐπιφοιτῶν, seeing that the two verbs describe one action and that two predicates τετραμμένῳ . . . καὶ μετεγνωκότι announcing the dative complement precede the participle.[3]

συνέπαινον '*agreeable, approving, consenting*', literally 'such as to praise together,—join in praise,—assent': as to syntax or sense there is little to choose between this adjective (5 x)[4] with the participle of the copula as in **d**, and the participle συνεπαινέον 'praising together, joining in praise' of ABP[5] which is not found elsewhere in H. but is at least as old as Aeschylus,[6] so we are reduced to the argument favouring the *lectio difficilior.*

νῦν δὲ καί '*and this time it has gone so far as to utter a threat. . .*': δέ adds an independent clause, νῦν is strictly temporal, distinguishing the latest appearance of the dream from the series as a whole, and καί marks the threat either as going beyond a mere οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον εἶναι, or at least as an expression of it whose inclusion in it is worth a separate mention; in any case as yielding a climax.

οἴχεται '*it was gone*': for the present tense cf. Klose 1968, pp. 210–11.

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1 Pp. 236–7.

2 P. 116.

3 For the word order ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι instead of *ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρόν μοι φαντάζεται C.J. Ruijgh refers to the discussion in Dover 1968, p. 17 of H. 1.10.2 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα as contrasted with 1.12.1 καί μιν ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα κατακρύπτει: 'Now the idea that καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ constitute a complex unit cannot be taken seriously; and the fact that in reading the narrative slowly and clearly we would make a slight pause between γυνὴ and ἐπορᾷ is highly relevant.' *H.l.* the effect of this word order would be that of 'highlighting' φαντάζεται.

4 Also 3.119.1, 5.20.3 & 31.4 & 32.

5 In the form ξυνεπενέον in C.

6 *Th.* 1079.

15.3

'εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως [ὡς] καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας.'

2 στρατηλασίην] στρατηλατέειν **a** | σοὶ] σὺ C 3 ὡς om. **a** | ὧδε ἀναγινόμενα **d**

'Now if it is a god who sends it to (me), and it is his pleasure that an expedition against Greece should by all means take place, (then) this very same dream will come flying to you too, and state its orders the same way it has to me. I find that this can be brought about in the following way, if you assume all my apparel and, having put it on, after that seat yourself upon my throne and subsequently fall asleep on my couch.'

ὦν '*Now*': Xerxes, having recounted his past experience, is turning it into the matter for an experiment by framing a hypothesis which if confirmed would account for a renewed occurrence, now to Artabanus. The particle marks the turn from the data accessible to the speaker alone, to the frame of reference which will allow the speaker and his partner in the conversation together to add to and make sense of them: a species of the shift from subsidiary to more focal information.—Cf. on 11.4 & 12.2 above s.v. and on 16 β 1 below s.v. (νῦν) ὦν.[1]

πάντως γενέσθαι '*that . . . should by all means take place*': the same adverb with present infinitive above 9 β 2 εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν & 10 θ 1 εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως . . . στρατεύεσθαι 'if it was/is by all means necessary . . .'. The choice of tense conveys that in 9 and 10 the verbs belong to the topic and the supposition is a πάντως δεῖν, i.e. the unconditional necessity of πολεμέειν and of στρατεύεσθαι respectively, whereas *h.l.* the topic is furnished by the noun στρατηλασίην and the focal issue is whether this expedition *will* or will *not* effectively take place.[2]

οἱ ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι '*it is his pleasure*', cf. 4.139.1 ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθῃσί ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ. To simple ἡδύ the expression perhaps

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[1] Pp. 169 & 184–5 and 235 respectively.
[2] More instances in Stork 1982, p. 428 n. 298.

adds the implication that some notion of what was agreeable to the party concerned was involved prior to the particular instance in question;[1] contrast such openings of a letter, speech or other address as 3.40.2 Ἄμασις Πολυκράτεϊ ὧδε λέγει· (2) ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα & 80.2 ἐμοὶ δοκέει ἕνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν, 7.101.1 Δημάρητε νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω.[2] With the adjective as used of utterances, 9.46.3 καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς . . . ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι, contrast 3.126.2 . . . καί τινα καὶ ἀγγαρήιον Δαρείου ἐλθόντα παρ' αὐτόν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν, which in its context likewise seems to set down Oroetes' pleasure as a force or factor in its own right.[3]

ἐπιπτήσεται '*will come flying to*': cf. on 13.1 above s.v. ἀποπτάσθαι.[4]

[ὡς] '[as]' is easily understood as an addition by someone who construed καὶ with ἐμοί to balance καὶ σοί, rather than with ὁμοίως as in 7.50.2 σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοισι λέξας & 3 εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι . . . γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ. The reading of **a** without the conjunction, then, is preferable as the more difficult one syntactically. Still, ὁμοίως (. . .) ὡς is found in H. in two instances followed by εἰ, at 1.155.1 ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἴ τις κτλ and 3.140.4 ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρὰ ἀλλ' ὦν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι, and it cannot be positively ruled out here. Dittography of ΟΜΟΙΩϹ into ΟΜΟΙΩϹΩϹ and haplography of ΟΜΟΙΩϹΩϹ as ΟΜΟΙΩϹ are equally possible.

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[1] Thus of anticipation 1.24.5 καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, of a desire 7.160.2 εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν τοῦ πέζου ἐγὼ θέλω, cf. Eur. *I.T.* 492–4—πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν †ἐνθάδ' ὠνομασμένος† | Πυλάδης κέκληται; τόδε μαθεῖν πρῶτον θέλω.—ὅδ, εἴ τι δή σοι τοῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν. At 2.137.5 in μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερά ἐστι ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον the effect is roughly that of '. . . but *when it comes to* pleasing the eye this one is inferior to none'.

[2] Cf., more passingly, Dem. 18.64 (*Crown*) ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστ' ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν, πότερον κτλ.

[3] Hence Thuc. 2.65.8 πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν more specifically of utterances *designed* to please, opposed to καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. In H. cf. the use of the noun at 7.101.3 (the sequel to the questions announced by Xerxes in the words quoted above in the main text) βασιλεῦ κότερα ἀληθείῃ χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ; ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείῃ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

[4] P. 187.

εὑρίσκω '*I find*' with *object* consisting of accusative-cum-participle adjunct as above in 8 α 2, where see note s.v.,[1] & 10 δ 2; contrast the accusative-cum-infinitive at 12.1, where see note s.v.,[2] which like 8 α 2 features the nominative predicative participle adjunct to the *subject* here exceptionally missing from an application of the verb to an intensional object—the nearest parallels are 1.156.1 Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα ταῦτα εὑρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναί σφεας, which is, however, immediately followed by comparable adjuncts ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι κτλ and ἀρρωδέων δέ, and 3.36.2 σε νουθετέειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὑρίσκω ἀγαθόν, where the kind of finding involved is sufficiently defined by the two infinitives preceding. *H.l.* the particle ἄν contributes towards the propositional interpretation required.—For the present εὑρίσκω cf. KLOSE 1968, p. 211.

ὧδε '*in the following way*' is used to refer forward to a condition less commonly than οὕτω(ς) is used to resume or refer back to one, but cf. 7.161.3 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης.[3]

ἂν γινόμενα '*that this can be brought about*': the one other instance of participle with ἄν in H. is in an adjunct to the subject, 7.168.3 ἡμεῖς . . . ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετά γε Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν κτλ.—For εὑρίσκω with the participle without ἄν see on 8 α 2 above s.v. προσγινόμενον.[4]

λάβοις . . . ἵζοιο . . . κατυπνώσειας '*you assume (. . . and . . .) seat yourself (. . . and . . .) fall asleep*': the optative mood can be understood as potential, the participle γινόμενα with ἄν representing the apodosis

[1] Pp. 22–3.

[2] P. 175.

[3] Cf. WAKKER 1994, p. 75 about this instance of 'conditional types that are closely tied up with the main clause . . . The main clause contains a pronominal constituent with satellite function, the reference of which is not inferrable from the preceding context . . . The *if*-clause is indispensable for the correct understanding of the reference of the pronominal constituent.', i.e. (p. 95) 'The *if*-clause specifies ὧδε, the reference of which is not inferrable from the preceding context/situation.' She compares Thuc. 8.47.1 πεῖσαι δ' ἂν ἐνόμιζε μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, εἰ Τισσαφέρνης φαίνοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος ὤν.—C.J. Ruijgh notes that in cases like these he would prefer to print a colon (·) after ταῦτα.

[4] Pp. 23–4.

γίνοιτ' ἄν, but at the same time as conveying the king's (polite but none the less compelling) suggestion, as in 5.2 above εἰ πρήσσοις.[1]

σκευή '*outfit, apparel*' as applied to persons (17 x in H.) is what they put on, whether in the matter of clothing, equipment, or insignia.

μετὰ τοῦτο '*after that*': the adjunct, which doubtless specifies the relation of ἵζοιο to ἐνδύς rather than that of ἐνδύς to λάβοις, is not, as MACAN noted, strictly indispensable—not so much because the aorist participle ἐνδύς by itself necessarily refers to an action preceding that expressed in the finite verb ἵζοιο as because these particular actions are not readily envisaged other than as a sequence in this order. The impression of a Xerxes artfully unfolding his pet scheme in clear-cut stages is confirmed by ἔπειτα.

ἵζοιο '*seat yourself*': see on 17.1 below s.v. ἱζόμενος.[2]

κατυπνώσειας '*you fall asleep*': see on 12.1 s.v. κατύπνωσε, & 14 above s.v. κατυπνωμένῳ, and 16 γ 3 s.v. κατυπνῶσαι & 17.1 below s.v. κατυπνωμένῳ.[3]

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[1] Where see note s.v. p. 4.

[2] Pp. 262–3.

[3] Pp. 178 & 197 and 259–60 & 263 respectively.—According to C.J. Ruijgh intransitive κατυπνῶ continues Homeric ὑπνώοντας Ω 344, ε 48, ω 4, which with verbs like ἱδρώω, γελώω, ῥιγώω, belongs to the field of bodily functions, whereas the perfect κατυπνωμένος presupposes an active, transitive κατυπνόω.

Second speech of Artabanus (16)

16.1

Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε, Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον·

1 οἱ om. R | τῷ et οἱ om. **a**P | κελεύματι **a** 2 πυθόμενος V: πιθόμενος Herwerden

This is what Xerxes told him, and Artabanus, though he did not comply with the first command to him because he did not deem himself worthy to seat himself on the royal throne, finally, when he was forced, did what he was told (to do) after speaking the following words:

Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε '*This is what Xerxes told him*': for 'Schlußformeln' like these (cf. 15.1 ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε·) cf. BECK 1971, p. 11;[1] for the imperfect ἔλεγε see on 11.1 above s.v. Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε.[2]

Ἀρτάβανος . . . οὐ . . . πειθόμενος . . . τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο '*Artabanus, though he did not comply with . . ., finally, when he was forced . . .*': on the sequence of the negated present participle οὐ πειθόμενος and the subclause with the imperfect ἠναγκάζετο cf. HETTRICH 1976, p. 47 and SICKING 1996, pp. 23–4.[3]

[1] 'Diese Schlußformeln können aber auch so ton- und inhaltlos sein, daß sie nur mehr die Funktion einer Paragraphos haben und an vielen verschiedenen Stellen in gleicher Weise verwendet werden können. Es sind dies Formeln von der Art ταῦτα εἶπεν, ἔλεγεν, ἔλεξαν nach einer Rede oder τοῦτο μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη, ἐγένετο u.ä. nach einer Erzählung.' BECK lists the instances of these 'Schlußformeln' in note 37 pp. 100–1.

[2] P. 151.

[3] HETTRICH 1976, p. 47: 'In diesen Perioden ist es nicht auf Anhieb zu bestimmen, ob die negierten B-Handlungen [οὐ πειθόμενος] gleichzeitig oder vorzeitig einzustufen sind. Wären sie nicht negiert, so bestünde wohl überall Vorzeitigkeit. Die Negation scheint hier eine Art Gleichzeitigkeit der Handlungen mit sich zu bringen.' *Contra* SICKING 1996, p. 24 who concludes that in instances such as these 'the presence of a negation as such has not affected the aspect choice.' He explains the aspectual sequence *h.l.* as follows: 'Οὐ πειθόμενος, together with οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος, sets the scene for Xerxes' finally (τέλος) compelling Artabanus to comply. From a viewpoint of time relationship, Artabanus' refusal, of course, precedes ἠναγκάζετο.'

Ἀρτάβανος . . . τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο . . . ἐποίεε . . . '*Artabanus . . . finally, when he was forced, did . . .*': on the preposed subclause with an imperfect tense cf. SICKING 1996, pp. 70–2.[1]

[1] Following up a suggestion made by BAKKER 1991 SICKING argues (p. 71) that '. . . preposed P[resent]S[tem] subclauses, apart from preparing the reader's *understanding* of the main clause, at the same time can be used for directing his *perspective*, or point of view, by making the *dramatis persona* the "focalizer" of the events mentioned in the subclause.', also in cases, as *h.l.*, where (p. 72) 'in the subclause, the topic is assigned the *semantic* role of Patient, while, in the main clause, he is the Agent.' His paraphrase runs as follows: 'Artabanus, on his part, when he saw that there was no escape (. . .).'

16 α 1

'Ἴσον ἐκεῖνο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι, κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἑωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι.'

2 τὰ σὲ] τάδε καὶ SV 5 φύσει L[C] | χρῆσθαι aEP

'This, my King, is equal in my estimate, both to consider well and to find it in oneself to be persuaded by him who says what is serviceable. You have in fact attained both of these, but pernicious company causes you to stumble, just as breaths of winds, they say, falling upon the sea do not allow it, of all things most serviceable to mankind, to keep to its own nature.'

ἴσον '*equal*', applied when one thing is equivalent to another in some more narrowly or more broadly quantifiable respect, e.g. when it is as potent or valuable or good as the other: also 8.79.4 ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ κτλ and, with a more specific verb, 6.86 γ 2 τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Since (1) it was at least Greek tradition to pronounce those who obey good counsel second to those capable of giving it, cf. Hes. *Erga* 293–5 and Soph. *Ant.* 720–3,[1] (2) Xerxes has listened to Artabanus' advice before, and (3) Artabanus speaks in the hope of making him do so again, this is an ingenious as well as a courteous way of giving Xerxes some credit for adopting ideas opposed to the wrong-headed ones which he originally held, though perhaps with his next claim, that Xerxes excels all men in both respects, Artabanus is laying it on rather thick: H. may be conveying a suggestion of Persian servility or of Xerxes' obtuseness, or both. The number is more 'auffällig statt des Plurals' (STEIN) to the grammarian than it is in the context, since the purpose is not really to pronounce on two separate things but to claim for the one that it is as good as the other; indeed with the singular number word order comes to suggest that it is the φρονέειν εὖ which can be taken as given.

[1] Both referred to by STEIN and ABICHT.

κέκριται παρ' ἐμοὶ '*with me counts as*', '*is in my judgment*': the other perfect passive forms of this verb[1] in H., at 3.31.3 οἱ δὲ βασιλήιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, and κέκριται of valuations long established in a community at 4.64.2 (on collecting scalps) and 5.6.2 (on tattooing), lack a similar complement. Artabanus intimates that his compliment on the king's wisdom is not newly *devised* by him as a compliment; the preposition too suggests something not so much originating as resting with him, in his possession or charge. It is also used in personal constructions with a similar meaning, focusing on the object of the judgment rather than on the judge: 1.32.9 οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ (Solon) τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο . . . δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι and, resembling our passage more closely in vocabulary, 3.160.1 Ζωπύρου . . . οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην . . . ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ.[2] Here the modest pretence as though others might feel differently invites the response that his opinion is in fact widely shared and beyond dispute.

ὦ βασιλεῦ '*My king*', as at the beginning of Artabanus' previous speech at 10 α 1 (& α 3); in the meantime Xerxes has addressed two speeches, one harsh and one milder, to his uncle with just his name Ἀρτάβανε at 11.1 & 15.1. This sets the pattern for most of the remaining exchanges between the two: below, 46.1 ὦ βασιλεῦ–47.1 Ἀρτάβανε, and so 49.1–50.1 and 51.1–52.1; the pattern is interrupted only in 47.2 ὦ βασιλεῦ–48 δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, and at 18.2 when Artabanus in reporting his dream again uses ὦ βασιλεῦ, but this time not at the beginning of his speech. So Artabanus uses no other form of address, except for ὦ παῖ in β 2 below; contrast Mardonius' δέσποτα, without ὦ at 5.2 and with ὦ at 9.1,[3] switching to ὦ βασιλεῦ in 9 γ. The dream addresses Xerxes with (12.2) ὦ Πέρσα and (14) ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, and Artabanus (17.2) with nothing more than σύ.

ἐκεῖνο '*that*' is one of nine instances listed together by POWELL s.v. under (A) 'pronominal' as (IV) 'anticipating rel. clause . . .; ὡς-clause . . .; ὅκως-clause . . .; noun-clause . . .'. The anticipating usage as such,

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[1] For a perfect tense of a comparable verb of judging in H. cf. 7.153.4 τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς [τοῦ] ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι ἀλλὰ κτλ, and for a passive one with the same preposition Lys. 1.2 ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν εἴη μόνον παρ' ὑμῖν οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα ἀλλ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

[2] The reflexive pronoun σφίσι αὐτοῖσι makes 1.86.5 τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι a different case.

[3] Where see note p. 50.

though rare in more formal prose, is a common feature of actual speech and unsurprising in H. The effect in individual contexts varies according as the pronoun is less or more dispensable. Out of the five instances allegedly anticipating a *relative* clause, at 1.32.5 ἐκεῖνο ... τὸ εἴρεό με and 6.65.3 ἀνασῴζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ κτλ the ἐκεῖνο itself is anaphoric and otherwise optional, at 1.32.7 οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις ⟨ὁ⟩ ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι and 3.140.4 σὺ κεῖνος εἷς ὃς it is partly anaphoric and non-optional; it is exclusively anticipatory only at 1.133.1 announcing a limitative clause ἡμέρην ... ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο, where it seems indispensable, and in the two instances, both of them in speeches, with *non-relative* subordinate clause 1.207.2 ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων and 7.237.2 οὐ ... (ἐ)κεῖνό γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, where it is not indispensable in itself but serves as a nucleus, so to speak, for πρῶτον and γε respectively to attach themselves to. The category of '*noun-clause*' turns out to cover 4.162.4 καλὸν μέν ... καὶ τοῦτο ..., κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναι κτλ, where the pronoun is at the same time opposed to anaphoric τοῦτο as 'what follows' to 'what precedes' and is otherwise optional, as well as our passage with its two infinitive phrases coordinated by τε ... καί but unaccompanied by the article. Here one contribution of the pronoun is to convey that the items pronounced equal are not new but implicit in earlier utterances and indeed in the very situation.[1]

φρονέειν τε εὖ καί ... πείθεσθαι '*consider well ... and be persuaded by ...*': compared with B 360 (Nestor to Agamemnon) αὐτός τ' εὖ μήδεο πείθεό τ' ἄλλῳ it is the second ingredient which is stated more circumspectly.

φρονέειν ... εὖ '*consider well, think correctly*': the combination in H. three times in a conditional clause,[2] as well as at 2.16.1 Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου and here.—Cf. φρονέειν μέγα in 10 ε above with note s.v.[3]

[1] Or, as C.J. Ruijgh (referring to 1.8.4 πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ) puts it, ἐκεῖνο has the connotation of 'that which has been known for a long time'.

[2] 8.60 β οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον & 140 α 3 τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε & 142.5 ὑμῖν δέ γε οὐ ποιητέα εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες.

[3] P. 120.

χρηστά, properly *'things one has a use for, serviceable'*, generalized into a term of approval;[1] here alone in H. combined with λέγειν,[2] taking up Xerxes' χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς of 15.1. With

χρησιμωτάτην *'most useful'* Artabanus in the elegant form of a simile takes care to acknowledge, and by the use of a superlative to cap, Xerxes' compliment.

ἐθέλειν *'find it in oneself'*: cf. on 10 δ 2 & θ 3 above s.vv. θέλει and θελήσεις respectively and 16 γ 1 below s.v. ἐθέλει.[3]

καὶ ἀμφότερα literally *'both (of them), too'*: the particle draws attention to the fact that the king has made *both* accomplishments his own—not just the εὖ φρονέειν which is most obviously required of him—implying that this in itself is a notable achievement.

περιήκοντα *'having attained'*: the only other instance in H. is 6.86 α 2 τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα (Glaucus) φαμὲν (we Spartans) τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. LSJ s.v. take the neuter accusatives, τὰ πρῶτα in 6.86 and τά *h.l.*, as subjects, and the masculine ones, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα and σέ respectively, as object, translating 'to have come round to, befallen (someone), fallen to (someone's) lot'; their only other example of this 'metaph.' use 'c. acc.' is Paus. 8.51.5 ἔμελλε . . . (ὑπεροψίας) δίκη περιήξειν καὶ Φιλοποίμενα. Stein glosses *assecutum*, evidently taking the men as subjects and the things as objects; similarly Abicht and, substantially,[4] Powell ('attain'). Various contextual relations leave no reasonable doubt that Stein is right: (1) σέ . . . περιήκοντα is a polite rejoinder to Xerxes' φρενῶν . . . ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω of 13.2, (2) what ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι 'bad company causes to stumble' is not discarnate dispositions but live men (compare σφαλερωτέρην σεωυτῷ in the very next sentence (α 2), and contrast Menander *apud* St. Paul, *I Corinthians* 15.33 φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί,[5] (3) σέ is more aptly balanced by ἐμὲ δέ at the beginning of the next sentence (α 2) if the two are on a par syntactically, and (4) the sea, 'which is of

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[1] Cf. on 9 β 2 above with note s.v. χρηστῷ p. 69.
[2] As in Soph. *Trach.* 470 πείθου λεγούσῃ χρηστά, again with a form of πείθεσθαι.
[3] Pp. 110–12 & 144 & 248 respectively.
[4] Disregarding tense.
[5] = Menander F 187 Körte, where see for an attribution to Euripides by Socrates Scholasticus.

all things the most serviceable to man', is a powerful image for the great king, with the ill winds standing for his bad counselers, but a feeble one for fleshless virtues—indeed the analogy might be felt to constitute the most decisive consideration, the subordinate clause again failing to specify grammatically whether sea or winds are the subject until the feminine singular reflexive pronoun ἑωυτῆς shows θάλασσαν to be the subject of χρᾶσθαι and therefore the object of οὐ περιορᾶν. Both clauses, then, begin with the mention of their *topic*, and leave syntactic roles to be assigned on the way. Finally, (5) σὲ (καὶ ἀμφότερα) περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων usefully suggests for one moment 'you who outstrip men', with ἀμφότερα in the still less prominent part of an accusative of respect.

At 6.86 α 2 the same construction is indicated (1) by Glaucus being mentioned first, (2) by the addition of τὰ πρῶτα, which specifies the sort of thing that one attains rather than which falls to one, and (3) by Glaucus becoming the subject of ἀκούειν. The role performed by the verb in Pausanias is in fact filled by περιέρχεσθαι in H. at 8.106.4 Πανιώνιον . . . περιῆλθε ἥ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος ('catch' POWELL s.v. 5), with a similar subject.

κακῶν ὁμιλίαι '*pernicious company*', basically that which is *harmful*, takes up Xerxes' own plea of 13.2 that he was constantly harrassed by advocates of the course of action now abandoned (οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται). In general cf. Theognis 31–2 κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει | ἀνδράσιν ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχεο and 35–6[1] ἢν δὲ κακοῖσι | συμμίσγῃς ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.[2] A positive counterpart with reference to rulers in Soph. fr. 14 *TrGF* Radt σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν ξυνουσίᾳ.[3] A Greek notion that Xerxes kept the wrong company is as old as Aesch. *Pers.* 753 ταῦτά τοι κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται | θούριος Ξέρξης.

σφάλλουσι '*cause to slip,—stumble,—fall*': the only other instance of the active voice in H. is at 142.2 below τοὺς . . . τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε . . . τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

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[1] Quoted Pl. *Meno* 95 D 4–E 1, Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.20.

[2] Also Menander in St. Paul quoted in the preceding note in the main text; cf. D.S. 16.54.4.

[3] Pl. *Resp.* 8, 550 A 4–B 7 describes a young man whose φύσις (cf. below) is not that of a κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς but ὁμιλίαις ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακαῖς κεχρῆσθαι being torn between his father's appeals to his λογιστικόν and his companions' appeals to his ἐπιθυμητικόν and θυμοειδές, and settling for the θυμοειδές.

again of being as it were subverted in judgment, just as the passive of the verb is used.[1] Only in 168.1 below the verb has a rather different application to the 'fall' of what in modern terms might be called a nation: οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ κτλ, as the related noun has in 9.9.2 πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι[2] and, to the fall of the house of Croesus, in 1.207.1 τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ. The most inclusive reference applies in the case of the gnomic phrase in 10 ζ above ἐπειχθῆναι . . . πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, where see note s.v. σφάλματα.[3] For the adjective in α 2 below see note s.v. σφαλερωτέρην there.[4] The verb does not pronounce on questions of blame and pardon; it is merely stated that Xerxes, by himself of sound judgment, is led astray by others.

The present tense form does not imply that Xerxes will actually 'fall', only that this is what listening to bad advice could ultimately lead to. There is no need to construe this into a separate 'conative' value of the present stem 'try, tend, threaten to'.

κατά περ '*just as*': POWELL writes κατάπερ as one word, of which he counts 69 instances; those under '1. introd. clause', however, come to only 11, as against nine for plain κατά ('= κατ' ἅ'). The particle marks the clause as limitative: 'I mean (don't get me wrong) in the sense they say winds disturb the bounteous ocean'. Cf. on 10 α 1 s.v. ὥσπερ.[5]

πνεύματα . . . ἀνέμων '*breath(s) of winds*', '*breathing winds*', a collocation found here alone in H.

πνεῦμα by itself is found six times: twice with ἄνεμος preceding 2.113.1 καί μιν (Paris) . . . ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον and 4.152.2 . . . ἔπλεον ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτῃ ἀνέμῳ καί, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, . . . ἀπίκοντο ἐς κτλ. and once with ἐμπίπτειν as here

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[1] At 4.140.2 τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν, 5.50.2 (Aristagoras) τἆλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη, 7.50.2 σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοισι λέξας & 52.1 (now Xerxes addressing Artabanus) τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα.

[2] Or 7.6.4 εἰ μέν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ.

[3] Pp. 121–2.

[4] P. 233.

[5] Pp. 79–80.

2.111.1 πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο. The remaining instances are 2.117 (εὐαέϊ πνεύματι) and 8.13 (φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι).

ἄνεμος is found no less than 75 times: half (38) of these instances denote the points of the compass and of the others 12 are in apposition to the name of the wind, as at 4.152.2 just quoted; of the remaining 25 a majority of 19 are in the plural.

φασι '*they say*': not because 'der Sprecher kennt die See nicht' (STEIN); it marks a saying (MACAN), cf. on β 1 below s.v. φῄς.[1]

ἐμπίπτοντα '*falling upon* or *in*': the factual statement 2.111.1 πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο ensures that this is the *verbum proprium*. Elsewhere the word is applied to concrete subjects (1.34.3 ἀκόντια . . . καὶ δοράτια . . . μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ,[2] cf. δ 508 τρύφος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ, and, perhaps not quite so concrete but still physical, 8.37.3 κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, cf. Π 113 πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσίν, Θ 485 ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῷ λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο) and to more abstract ones (στάσις 6.109.5, φόβος,[3] cf. β 45 κακὸν ἔμπεσε οἴκῳ). The process referred to is generally an undesirable one, which accords with the fact that when applied to persons the verb refers to attacks,[4] to the senseless (ἄνευ νόου) precipitation of the δήμου ἀκολάστου (3.81.2: Megabyxus), and to falling into an ambush, pitfall, or συμφορὴν . . . ἀνεθέλητον.[5] In 46.3 below Xerxes uses a different but apparently roughly equivalent compound in αἵ . . . συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι.

περιορᾶν '*allow*': for the difference made by οὐ περιορᾶν taking as its complement an infinitive ('prevent') or, more often, a participle ('stop') see GOODWIN § 903.6, KG II 74 and FILBEY 1917, p. 44. In H. the complement is formed from either aorist or present stem according as the finite verb is, with the single exception of 2.110.2 ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἱστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα.[6]

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[1] P. 236.
[2] Thus 2.111.1 πνεῦμα as here & 96.5 ῥόος, 6.27.2 στέγη and in an oracle at 5.92 β 2 ὀλ(ο)οίτροχος a *boulder*.
[3] 4.203.3, 7.43.2 (ἐσέπεσε **a**) and 8.38.
[4] As at 3.146.3, 5.63.4.
[5] At 5.121, 8.28 (ἐνέπεσον RSV: ἐσέπεσον rell.), and 7.88.1 respectively.
[6] Resulting, as C.J. Ruijgh notes, in an 'conative' or 'inceptive' interpretation of the present participle ἱστάντα.

φύσι '*nature*' covers both (1) how a thing comes to be and (2) how it is predisposed to act as a result of this. In some of the 18 instances in H. the context leaves the more original use (1) as a *nomen actionis* operative, as by the addition of such verbs as φύεσθαι and γίγνεσθαι in 3.116.2 ὅκως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι, 134.2 below φύσι '*birth*' τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα and in 3.109.1 on Arabian winged serpents εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει; an animal *growth* is the hair of the tails of bulls sacrificed to Apis at 2.38.2; at 3.22.4 in ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν the summary by the Aethiopian king in the word κόπρον makes it clear that the reference is to the way wheat is *grown*, at 8.38 ὁπλίτας μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἐόντας the height to which men grow is considered, and at 2.19.1 the φύσις of the Nile[31] is discussed with special regard to its πληθύειν. In 2.45.3 the way a phenomenon may *come about* is made the criterion of its reality: ἕνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον . . . κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; 'how can (it be that) one human being . . .'.

However, 3.109.1 at the same time offers an example of a context containing elements which, by contrast, make φύσις focus on (2) what a body is and does *of its own accord*: here, regardless of the limits which divine providence (τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη 108.2) by its dispensation of properties has set to their proliferation; a similar actualization of both (1) and (2) in another application to a river at 4.50.2 ὀλίγῳ μέζων τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται: of the Danube as it flows of itself, as opposed to its volume as increased by rainfall. Component (2) has prevailed over (1) at 5.118.2 ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος and 7.103.4 παρὰ τὴν ἑωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες of the normal potential of soldiers as compared to the feats they may perform when constrained by their position to 'surpass themselves'.

Other items credited with a φύσις are Egypt (2.5.2), more animals (2.68.1 crocodiles & 71 φύσιν ἰδέης of hippopotami) and, most often, men (1.89.2 Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταί, 2.45.2 τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων) or man (3.65.3 ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίῃ φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν, 8.83.1 πάντα ⟨τὰ⟩ κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι 'make-up' ἐγγίνεται). What it amounts to in the case of the sea is

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[31] Cf. 2.35.2 τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί.

presumably what Solon ascribes to this in (fr. 12 West) ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν | μὴ κινῇ πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη, of all things least disposed to transgress its bounds[1] when not disturbed by winds.[2] To this parallel STEIN adds a 'metaphrasis' in Plb. 11.29.10 κἀκείνης ἡ μὲν ἰδία φύσις ἐστὶν ἀβλαβὴς τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ στάσιμος, ὅταν δ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐμπέσῃ τὰ πνεύματα βίᾳ, τοιαύτη φαίνεται τοῖς χρωμένοις οἷοί τινες ἂν ὦσιν οἱ κυκλοῦντες αὐτὴν ἄνεμοι, followed by Livy 28.27.11 *natura maris per se immobilis*, both of them in a context referring to crowds swayed by demagogues, but these statements may represent a further step towards a secularised concept of dead matter as distinct fom live nature: Solon does not attribute absolute calm to the sea, and the simile used by Herodotus would not become more apt if we were to suppose that he did.—In the present combination with

χρᾶσθαι '*keep to, behave in accordance with*' the concept of φύσις is not, or not yet, tinged by the opposition with νόμος,[3] in which it is customarily represented as something curbed, rather than agitated, by external influences, as at Ar. *Nub.* 1078 χρῶ τῇ φύσει . . ., νομίζε μηδὲν αἰσχρόν and Isocr. 7.38 ὀκνοῦντας τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις . . . ἐμμένοντας. The verb with τῇ ἑωυτῆς perhaps echoes Xerxes' use of it in 13.2 χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ: Artabanus' courteously suggests that Xerxes in taking his advice really deserves credit for following his own instinct.—Cf. χρᾶσθαι in 10 α 1 above and 18.3 below with notes s.v.[4]

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[1] For δίκαιος as 'das der naturgegebenen Art (δίκη) Entsprechende' see HEINIMANN, *Nomos und Physis*, p. 97 with n. 20, who refers to FRÄNKEL, *Wege und Formen*, p. 171 & n. 1, who refers to JAEGER, *SPA* (1926) 79, 81. In Latin cf. *ad iusti cursum . . . amnis* in Livy 1.4.4.

[2] By contrast Semonides 7.27–42 thinks she has a φυὴν ἀλλοίην (42) and stood model for the woman ἣ δύ' ἐν φρεσὶν νοεῖ (27).

[3] With which we saw it juxtaposed by H. in 2.45.2 quoted above s.v. φύσι.

[4] Pp. 79 & 285–6 respectively.

16 α 2

'ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμένων Πέρσῃσι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιουτέων προκειμένων γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναιρέο.'

1 τοσοῦτο D (tert. o in lit.) **a** 2 δύω CV | προκειμενέων AB | αὐξούσης **dP** 3 τὴν ψυχὴν διδάσκειν **d** 4 τουτέων **dP** | προκειμένων SV[1]: προσκειμενέων AB: προκειμενέων rell. 5 τῶν γνωμέων S | σφαλερωτάτην **d**

'*As for me, what stung me was not so much the pain of having been spoken ill of by you, as the fact that you, when there were two views lying before the Persians, one increasing pride, the other arresting it and telling that it is pernicious to prompt the spirit always to seek to have something more than what is there—that with such views lying before us, you took up the one that is more apt to trip up yourself and the Persians.*'

ἐμὲ δὲ '(as for) *me*' after (τὰ) σὲ answers Xerxes' apology in 15.1 ἐγὼ . . . ἐς σέ: Artabanus first excuses the king, then makes light of the injury.

ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς '*being, having been spoken ill of by you*': cf. 3.120.4 where Oroetes, taunted with having neglected to conquer Samos for the greater glory of his king determines to kill Polycrates δι' ὅντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε, and contrast 9.79.1 ἄμεινον ἀκούεσθαι which paraphrases 9.78.3 ἔπαινον ἕξεις. The aorist makes it clear that the reference is not to Artabanus' reputation in general but to Xerxes' reprimand on this occasion, cf. 8.93.1 with the occasion specified ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται; by contrast the three remaining instances of so-and-so ἀκούειν in H., which have a form of the present stem, are not confined in their reference to any particular occasion: 2.173.2 if you (Amasis) did what befits a king, the Egyptians would know they were governed by a great man καὶ σὺ ἄμεινον ἤκουες, 6.86 α 2 ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων, and 10 η 1 above παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν.

πρὸς σεῦ '*by you*', of the agent, or rather speaker, in what is effectively a passive statement, as in 1.96.3 ἔπαινον εἶχε . . . πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων. For πρός + gen. in combination with ἀκούειν cf. KG I 516 d & 360 Anm. 9.a.

ἐμὲ . . . οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον . . . ὅτι . . . '*the bite* (more idiomatically *what stung me*) *was not so much the pain of having been . . . as the fact that you . . .*': POWELL brings this instance of ὅτι under his heading s.v. II causal, *because*, but the balance of the period as well as word order makes it more plausible to take the clause which depends on ὅτι as a second subject coming to replace λύπη, which as combined with ἔδακε was better fitted to the effect of κακῶς ἀκούειν than to the more impersonal considerations which follow. The verb is otherwise in H. only found in a literal use at 2.95.3 of mosquitoes, as is the compound ἀντιδάκνειν at 4.168.1 of Libyan women when catching their own lice; the application to immaterial causes is as old as E 493 φρένας Ἕκτορι μῦθος and Hes.*Th.* 567–8 (566 κλέψας . . . πυρὸς . . . αὐγήν . . .·) δάκεν . . . θυμὸν | Ζῆν' . . ., i.e. Prometheus or his theft of fire. The fact that in the first half of the present sentence the injury is included in the accusative phrase as belonging to the victim, so to speak, seems to reflect its status as being part of the *topic* of the sentence: 'as for my having suffered from your tongue . . .'. It is quite as natural and common for a topic thus to be introduced in the accusative as in any other case in general; in this particular context a tendency seems observable for successive topics to take the same case, cf. above, 10 α 2 & 3 ἐγὼ δέ . . . σὺ δέ, & γ 1 & δ 1 ἐγὼ δέ . . . σὺ ὦν respectively.

προκειμένων (*bis*) '*lying before* (the Persians)', of various concrete and abstract subjects; likewise of γνῶμαι 2.24.1, 3.83.1, 4.138.2 ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω, and with reference to the same γνῶμαι as here 10.1 above γνώμην . . . ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ.

ὕβριν αὐξανούσης '*increasing pride*': for the virtual equation with σφαλερωτέρην see below s.v.[1] A connection between σφάλλειν and tyranny is established at 3.53.4 quoted there; a connection between ὕβρις and tyranny at 3.80.4 quoted in the next note.

ὕβριν '(overbearing) *pride*', though it is no discredit to a horse (1.189.1 ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν),[2] does not, it appears, become a boy (2.32.3 ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς . . . μηχανᾶσθαι

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[1] P. 233.

[2] It is the ὑβρίσαντι river that Cyrus ἐχαλέπαινε 'was hard on', i.e. 'took it out on' (1.189.2). At 4.129.2 the verb refers to the manifestations, in particular of φωνή and εἶδος, by which Persian mules and especially donkeys unnerve the Scythian horse.

ἀνδρωθέντας περισσά), let alone a man: it is held against monarchs in general (3.80.3 & 4 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρι κεκορημένος[1] ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ), Cambyses and the magus in particular (3.80.2 *bis*) by Otanes; retorted against the mob by Megabyxus (& 81.1 ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον & 2 *bis*),[2] it rises to an insupportable (οὐκ ἀνασχετόν) degree in Oroetes' killing several Persians (3.127.3); but the worst outrage committed by any Greek (ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων 6.127.3), to H.' pan-Hellenic mind, is Pheidon's having ousted the rightful ἀγωνοθέται at Olympia.[3]

αὐξανούσης '*increasing*': the only instance in H. of an active form, as opposed to 13 passive or medio-passive forms, applied to physical growth of animals and men (5 x), of land rising in level as one progresses through it (2.14.1 *bis*), and of growth in number (1.58) or power (4 x). The use of αὔξειν, which is the reading of **d** and P here, is not significantly different: of 15 instances three, if we count the present one, are active, the other two having τὰ Ἑλλήνων for their object.[4]

αὐξανούσης καὶ καταπαυούσης '*increasing and arresting*': both words might seem to suggest that there was in fact ὕβρις before or while the two opposed γνωμέων were brought forward. But perhaps we should not press this point, and assume that (1) for αὐξάνειν to apply it is sufficient that there comes to be more of the object than there was, and that (2) the point of departure for καταπαύειν is not the hybris which was there before the two opinions were proposed but

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[1] Cf. κρατερὸν Κόρον Ὕβριος υἱόν in the oracle at 8.77.1.

[2] Other applications to collective performance are at 1.106.1 (Asia Minor all ἀνάστατα 'uprooted' by the ὕβρις and ὀλιγωρίη 'contempt and neglect' shown by a Scythian régime for 28 years); 6.137.3 (the same two nouns, *ass.* βιᾶσθαι, of the Pelasgians); the Athenians in a votive inscription at 5.77.4 record they have quenched it (ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν) in the Boeotians and Chalcideans, while the Aeginetans according to 6.87 ἀδικήματα ὕβρισαν to the Athenians.

[3] Cf. Dem. 9.32 inveighing against Philippus and his δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας the Pythian games.—The remaining instances of the basic noun are 8.3.2 (ascribed to Pausanias), 9.27.2 (Eurystheus) & 73.2 (Theseus), of the verb 1.100.2 (any offenders punished by Deioces), 3.118.1 (Intaphrenes maltreating Darius' servants), of the derivative nouns ὑβριστής 1.89.2 (the Persians φύσιν according to Croesus) and ὕβρισμα 3.48.1 (of Samians to Corinthians), 7.160.1 (ἐν τῷ λόγῳ of Syagrus, taken as ὀνείδεα by Gelon).

[4] The passive ones apply to a storm rising (2 x) and, again, to physical growth of animals, men, or parts of their bodies (5 x), and to increase in power (4 x); the remaining one is another variant for αὐξάνειν, at 2.14.1.

that which might have been inspired by the first of these. This use of the verbs, which would generalise the tenor of the words spoken—'opinions, the one *such as* to, *tending* to increase, the other to arrest'—rather than just their actual effect on Xerxes' mind, is more easily compatible with the present stem than it would be with an aorist.

καταπαυούσης '*arresting*': the compound overlaps in distribution with the simple verb παύειν in referring (1) to rulers[1] being deposed (6 x simple, 8 x κατα-) or (2) to a form of supremacy checked (3.81.1 τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων vs. two instances of κατα-: of Cyrus' δύναμιν as Croesus flattered himself, and of Croesus' own μεγάλην ἀρχήν as it turned out, at 1.90.4 & 86.1 respectively), as well as in two references to the same non-event at 1.27.2 ἐόντων δέ οἱ (Croesus) πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, (Bias or Pittacus) εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην & 5 Κροῖσον . . . οἱ . . . πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. The suggestion which could be derived from Powell s.vv., that the difference is that between (compound) 'prevent' and (simple verb) 'stop', is just compatible with the examples under (3) but hardly with those under (2). The one remaining instance of the compound is at 2.162.1 πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι.[2]—Stylistically the use of the compound here makes the two antithetic participles obey the '*Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*'.

κακόν '*pernicious*' alludes to the κακοί with whom Xerxes associates, cf. on α 1 above s.v. κακῶν ὁμιλίαι.[3]

κακὸν εἴη '(*it*) *is* (*pernicious*)', only here followed by an infinitive; contrast 18.2 ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν. The article turns the phenomenon into something given in fact; this difference tallies very well with the difference in meaning between the verbs governing the two clauses, λεγούσης and ἐπιστάμενος respectively.

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[1] At 4.1.2 to a ruling people, Μήδους with the explicit complement τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[2] It may be considered whether the simple verb might be more appropriate when the object is more prominently in focus, the compound when the agent or the action itself is, as here. The one instance in H. of ἀποπαύειν at 1.46.1 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλῳ κατῆστο . . . μετὰ δὲ . . . τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα κτλ likewise takes the object and complement as given and focuses on the event, but differs from the more frequent compound in that it intimates a change of direction rather than a mere desisting; together with the particle μέν it thereby prepares for subsequent action.

[3] P. 221.

(ὡς κακὸν) **εἴη** '(*that it*) *is* (pernicious)': the finite verb of the main clause ἔδακε locates the entire period in the past; H. could have chosen to present the tenor of the two γνῶμαι comprised in the elaborate absolute genitive as timeless, and that of the one Artabanus subscribes to as true, by using the indicative ἐστι, but he makes Artabanus more reservedly characterize them as viewpoints developed earlier.

διδάσκειν '*instruct, prompt*', in just 18 instances in H., covers a wide range of reference, being applied to grown-ups, children, and animals, to both verbal and behavioural manifestations, and to occasional performance as well as permanent competence or disposition. In five[1] instances the live object are children and the matter is language, writing,[2] or both,[3] once with the addition of archery[4] and once of 'Athenian ways';[5] in one instance children are told to take sanctuary.[6] In two others a grown-up woman repeats what she has been told to say.[7] Three applications to 'trained' animals[8] are all in the perfect tense.[9] In two contexts[10] a juxtaposition with *see* and *show* respectively suggests that the verb applies especially to information conveyed verbally. A reference to the introduction of a rite[11] provides a transition to the well-known special use for the direction of performances.[12]

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[1] If we count the reading of **d** at 2.154.2 παῖδας . . . τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν διδάσκεσθαι, where other MSS. have ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι.

[2] 6.27.2 παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι.

[3] 4.78.1 τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτὴ γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε.

[4] 1.73.5 (Cyaxares and the Scythians: 3 παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων.) . . . τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα. . . .

[5] 6.138.2 γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας.

[6] 3.48.2 τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἅψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος.

[7] 3.53.5 ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν . . . & 134.1 διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκήδεος ἡ Ἄτοσσα προσέφερε . . . Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε.

[8] 2.69.2 ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἕνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα, 4.22.2 ἵππος . . . δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι, 5.111.1 ἵππον . . . δεδιδαγμένον . . . ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν.

[9] Suggesting that the permanency of the disposition is not in the lexical meaning as such.

[10] 3.81.2 τῷ δὲ (δήμῳ) οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὃς οὔτ' ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν [οὐδ'] οἰκήιον . . ., 9.31.2 (Mardonius: ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· . . .) ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων.

[11] 2.171.3 αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας.

[12] Found in H. 1.23 (Arion) διθύραμβον . . . ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ & 6.21.2 ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι.

The present occurrence cannot be understood in isolation from that which follows in β 2 ἐνύπνια . . . τοιαῦτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω: we are in a context of men telling each other in general, and their king's lordly temperament (ψυχήν) in particular, what to do and think.

τὴν ψυχήν '*spirit, temperament*' is that which imparts (I) *life*, as at 1.24.2 (Arion) χρήματα μέν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον, 39.2 & 209.3 below, and in 10 more instances; and (II) *courage* as opposed to despondency, whether in the form of (*a*) dejection, as in 3.40.4 ff. of what in a man is grieved by the loss of a cherished possession (κειμηλίων 3.41.1), or by disaster overtaking an ally (ξείνου ἀνδρός 3.43.2); or of (*b*) cowardice or idleness, as at 3.108.2 of ὅσα . . . ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα 'edible (species) poor in fighting spirit', and at 5.124.1 (Aristagoras) ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος . . . δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε and 7.153.4 οὐ πρὸς [τοῦ] ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης, opposed to θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνήρ. The continuity between (*a*) and (*b*) is clearly seen at 3.14.1 where Cambyses διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ (Psammenitus') τῆς ψυχῆς: 'tried out his mettle' by humiliating his daughter and son in front of him. ψυχή, then, is the morale which makes for activity, and as such it is a good thing; but the present context implies that it is possible to have too much of it, or more precisely to exert and excite it beyond what is good for one.

διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχήν '*prompting the spirit*': a conception of educating the soul may seem unexpectedly Platonic, and the fact that **d** has the word order τὴν ψυχὴν διδάσκειν could inspire a suspicion that either of the two halves is a gloss—or even that both are, introduced successively. The latter alternative is the easiest to dispose of: if the archetype read ὡς κακὸν εἴη πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν no one would have felt the urge to drag in either διδάσκειν or τὴν ψυχήν. That H. wrote διδάσκειν πλέον τι δίζησθαι without any object mentioned is perhaps intrinsically least probable. That he should have written ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν is syntactically unobjectionable, but does it make as good or better sense than the transmitted words? Either alternative may derive support from the γνώμη in question as it was propounded in 10 above by Artabanus, who in ε could be said to be cautioning the king against πλεονεξία and in η 2 to be rebuking Mardonius for egging him on. The notion of someone's prompting the king's temperament to imperialism in fact suits Mardonius perfectly, and the double

detour of referring not to Xerxes' ruinous craving but to an earlier statement about another man's fostering this craving is Artabanus' best bid, at the expense of Mardonius, to abide by his denunciation of Xerxes' project without again incurring his wrath.

The variation in word order between the MSS. might be explained by an uncertainty as to whether τὴν ψυχήν was the subject or the object of διδάσκειν, or as the result of an attempt to impose an answer to this question, perhaps (mis)guided by the grammarians' notion that with an infinitive the preceding or the first accusative expresses the subject.[1] It follows from our argument in support of the MSS. that τὴν ψυχήν is the object of διδάσκειν; that we also share HUDE's preference for the word order διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχήν is not, however, on any such mechanical grounds but because it puts this object in a more natural position to serve as subject to πλέον τι δίζησθαι κτλ.

δίζησθαι '*look, strive for, seek*' in its 29 instances in H. is used (1) with palpable objects, (2) with immaterial objects such as 7.142.1 τὸ μαντήιον and indirect questions 3.41.1 ἐφ' ᾧ and 4.151.2 εἰ, where we might say 'investigate' or 'inquire (into)', (3) with intentional objects, in an infinitive as e.g. 2.66.1 μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι (of cats), and here as well as in the closely parallel 2.147.3 πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, and (4) 'absolutely', i.e. without any explicit object. At 7.103.2 εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιός ἐστι, σὲ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον is slightly unusual in that the object, expressed in an accusative-cum-infinitive construction, is not so much *intended* by the subject as *required* by him on the strength of a premiss affirmed by his partner in the conversation. A comparison with 1.94.4 τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἑτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων suggests what might be the basic difference from ζητέειν '*want, lack, miss*' which elsewhere seems to overlap with it:[2] δίζησθαι could contain, over and above 'experiencing the absence of', an additional component of 'being engaged in remedying this'.[3] This distinction is compatible with H.' use of the compounds formed

[1] A.D. *Synt.* 3.87/345.15–346.2 Uhlig.

[2] The other instances in H. are 1.43.1 ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὑρόντες δέ κτλ & 32.7 ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις ⟨ὁ⟩ ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι, 3.137.4 οὐδ' ἔτι ἐζήτησαν . . . ἐκμαθεῖν, 6.62.2 αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου, and 9.26.4 ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

[3] Which may of course be part of the reality referred to by the other verb, and might be made explicit by other means than the verb chosen.

of both verbs with ἐπι-: cf. 5.106.3 τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιοῖμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἐών[1] with 5.24.3 ἐγώ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· ἐπείτε τάχιστα . . . σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχέϊ ἐπεζήτησα ὡς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι.[2] It appears to be neutralized, or rather obliterated by the contribution of the preverb, in ἀναζητέειν found at 1.137.2 ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἂν εὑρεθῆναι . . . ἐόντα, to which there is no alternative *ἀναδίζησθαι attested either in or outside H.

τοῦ παρεόντος '*what is there*': unaccountably classed by POWELL s.v. under 4. 'w. other nouns'. τὸ παρεόν is that which is where some other subject is. Here it is easy to supply '(to get more than) *one* (already) *has*'—the subject being the owner of the misguided ψυχή, strictly speaking. The specialization in the use of the word for what belongs to the moment of speaking is exactly parallel to that of (Latin, French, English, &c.) 'present'.

τοιουτέων '*such*': the variant τουτέων '*these*' of dP is poorer in sense without being more specific in reference, for τοιουτέων is effectively equivalent to 'these, being what they are'; moreover OI in TOCTOIOYT is more easily lost than inserted.[3]

σφαλερωτέρην '*more apt to tip* (yourself and the Persians) *over,—trip up* (yourself and the Persians)': the reminiscence of σφάλλειν in α 1 is unmistakable, the identity with τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης evident; it is safe to infer that the κακοί whose company in α 1 was said to pervert the king's natural faculty of εὖ φρονέειν include the advocates of that ὕβρις which consists in πλεονεξία. The only other instance of the adjective in H. is 3.53.4 τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι, where its justification is presumably that tyranny brings down all those who vainly attempt to attain or to preserve it in their possession.

ἀναιρέο '*you took up*', from what was laid out in front of you (προκειμένων *bis*; the actual case is expressed in more consistently

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[1] Where ἐπιζητέων would not have made an equally significant addition to ἐνδεὴς ἐών.

[2] H. has one more instance of each compound, at 1.95.1 ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε κτλ. and 3.36.5 εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητῇ τὸν Κροῖσον respectively.

[3] For other instances of the 'rappel' of γνωμέων δύο προκειμένων in τοιουτέων προκειμένων γνωμέων cf. BROUWER 1975, p. 71.

spatial terms than the general procedure is at 10 α 1 above in λεχθεισέων ... γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι ... τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι). Among 43 instances in H.[1] the active voice, which has one special application[2] to oracles and priests as subjects, 'answer',[3] overlaps with the medium when referring to things one may *win*; a use which is no more than one variety of the application of the medium to objects one somehow 'takes to one' (appropriates, adopts, &c.), such as taking food (present stem 4.128.2 *bis*), conceiving a child (pr. 3.108.3 passive, 6.69.4), taking up a body for burial (aorist 9.22.3 & 23.2 & 27.3),[4] or the bones of cattle (fut. 2.41.5), or gold as payment (aor. 4.196.2), undertaking war (pr. 5.36.2) or related efforts (plupf. 6.108.1), and adopting, much as *h.l.*, a φιλοψυχίη 'device for saving his skin' (pr. 6.29.1). Several of these examples prove that the present stem does not imply that the choice is not yet final; more likely the verb envisages the decision with regard to the alternatives open to the person who has to make it and leaves room for inquiry into the consequences.

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[1] If we count 2.36.3 on collecting excrements (present; not in dP[1]) as well as the two at 4.66 referred to in the next footnote.

[2] And another one to killing, if we should adopt ἀναιρημένοι and -κότες (CDP) rather than ἀραιρημένοι and -κότες in 4.66.

[3] 2.52.3 ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ... εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα ... ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι suggests active and medium forms are hardly felt to belong to the same verb.

[4] Powell's reference to 4.12.2 should be read as 4.14.2.

16 β 1

'νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῄς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἕλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐῶντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον.'

1 τετράφθαι **d** 2 ἐῶν Cobet

'*What matters now, given that you have turned to the better (course), is your asserting that, while you are giving up the expedition against the Hellenes, a dream is frequenting you by the despatch of some god or other, which does not allow you to disband your army.*'

(νῦν) ὦν '*what matters, concerns us now*': the particle marks a shift from the less to the more relevant;[1] here this coincides with a change from previous experience to present (νῦν) concerns.

ἐπειδή '*given that*': the content of the main clause is to be considered in the light or against the background of that of the subordinate clause, which is called before the mind's eye (δή).[2] Most commonly this is a past occurrence or situation expressed in an imperfect or aorist tense or a pluperfect, and the conjunction has specialised into its temporal use, 'when' or 'after'; but a present circumstance expressed by means of a perfect tense is found at 4.118.1 . . . ὡς ὁ Πέρσης ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῇ ἑτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε and at 158.3 below (Gelon speaking) νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνῆστις γέγονε as well as here.[3]

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[1] Cf. on 10 δ 1 above with note s.v. (σὺ) ὦν (μή) p. 106.

[2] According to C.J. Ruijgh ἐπειδή has grown to be a 'doublet étoffé' of ἐπεί, with a corresponding weakening of the independent semantic input of δή.

[3] Cf. on this particular ἐπειδή-clause Rijksbaron 1976, p. 98: 'There are three peculiarities. (i) the ἐπειδή-clause does not—strictly speaking—modify φῄς but the complement of this verb of saying, viz. ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον; in fact, Artabanus quotes, in a slightly different form, Xerxes' own words of 15,2: τετραμμένῳ etc.; (ii) the main clause does not contain a request to the hearer nor a statement about the speaker's own conduct, but an action of a third "person"; (iii) the speaker does not seem to indicate that the action described in the main clause is a natural consequence of what is said in the ἐπειδή-clause. Rather, it is indicated that the action of the main clause coincides with the event described in the ἐπειδή-clause: ". . . precisely now, now that I have changed my mind, a dream visits me . . ." etc. . . . (But perhaps the usual "causal" force is present, in that Xerxes (see 15,2) hints that the visit of the dream-vision may be but the natural consequence of his changing his opinion).'

φῄς '*you say*', as distinct from λέγεις, refers to the actual, literal utterance rather than to the tenor of a statement or even to a viewpoint: here the words ὄνειρον, and more significantly ἐπιφοιτᾶν which Artabanus will twice repeat in γ 2, are directly quoted from Xerxes' speech at 15.2 above; cf. below 103.1 'you (Demaratus) say you have been king of these men yourself'. A consequence is that the verb is used of what is *affirmed*, where this is left to the responsibility of the speaker: cf. above, 10 β 1 w. note s.v.[1] & θ 3 φημι 'I say to you . . .' & below, γ 2 φαίην ἄν καὶ αὐτός 'I too would assert . . .', 104.3 '. . . with one of these men who claim each of them to be a match (ἄξιος) for three Greeks', 161.3 'of whom Homer too declares . . .': we have his *word* for it; and 235.2 'Cythera, of which our wisest compatriot Chilon said it was a good thing that it is hidden below sea-level': the issue is not the merits of the claim, the point is its confirmation by this particular authority.

In α 1 above[2] φασι '(just as) they say (the winds do not suffer the sea to be herself)' the verb is appropriate because no subject is envisaged to which one might attribute λέγουσι, while on the other hand impersonal λέγεται would focus on the new statement instead of taking the *façon de parler* merely as a foil for the statement about Xerxes which led to it; contrast λέγεται e.g. below 56.2 'it is said that a man of Hellespont spoke . . .' & 130.1 'Xerxes is said to have replied . . .', &c.[3]

μετιέντι '*giving up*', '*when/while* (you) *abandon*': with a similar object 1.189.3 (Cyrus) μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρεε κτλ. The present stem is appropriate because the sequel is still open: the dream does not allow (οὐκ ἐῶντα) Xerxes to finalise his decision.

στόλον, related to στέλλεσθαι which comprises 'arming, equipping, fitting out' and 'sending', refers both to '*expedition*', as here after μετιέντι, and to '*army*', as it is at least equally natural to take it at the end of this sentence after καταλύειν, for which see below. The thing to note is that it remains one single concept.

ἐπιφοιτᾶν is within the compass of two chapters construed with datives (15.2, where see note s.v. ἐπιφοιτῶν,[4] Xerxes as quoted here by

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1 P. 85.

2 Where see note s.v. p. 223.

3 POWELL s.v. A I 2.c 'pass. impers.', 31 x, never in direct speech.

4 Pp. 209–10.

Artabanus) and with an accusative σέ (in 16 γ 2 below, immediately followed by an instance which could be taken as intransitive or as relating to the same σέ).

ὄνειρον . . . ἐνύπνια . . . ὄψιες '*dreams . . . dreams . . . dream visions*': the coherence of his account requires that Artabanus should be referring to the same thing, but this does not mean that there is no method in the succession of terms.

ὄνειρον . . . ἐῶντά '*dream . . . which does not allow*': where the gender can be determined the proportions of masculine and neuter are not sufficiently unequal to create a presumption as to which is more likely to obtain for the many contexts in which the gender is, in POWELL's term s.v. ὄνειρος, indeterminate. In our context the neuter is preponderant: 7.14 (narrative) & 15.2 & 3 (Xerxes' words here paraphrased by Artabanus) & 16 β 2 (in the present speech: ὄψιες ὀνειράτων) & 17.1 (narr.), but in 18.1 (narr.) MSS. vary and 13.1 (narr.) is indeterminate. In any case Artabanus is made to refer to this type of apparition by three different names within six lines; this does not speak in favour of COBET's attempt to increase uniformity by correcting ἐῶντά into ἐῶν. It may be that the masculine form, though syntactically belonging to ὄνειρον, is influenced by the intervening θεοῦ τινος: the dream *which* stops Xerxes is supposed to be sent by a god *who* stops him.

πομπῇ '*sending, mission*': either the (fact of) sending or more precisely being sent, in H. always by divine instigation (cf. θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων 15.3 above; also θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος 1.62.4, -ους 3.77.1, -οι 4.152.2; just θείῃ πομπῇ 8.94.2), or more particularly the escorting or accompanying someone (αὐτὸν, i.e. Heracles, ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον 2.45.1, σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθείς 7.197.2) or something (ἡ τοῦ φαλλοῦ 2.49.1; without mention of an object 2.58, 5.56.2) in the form of a procession. In these latter contexts πομπή may be understood as coming at the same time to denote the *company* which is sent on its way.

καταλύειν is basically a breaking down or dissolving of some compound whole: *in politicis* of a concrete body of men τὴν βουλήν 5.72.1, more abstractly μεγάλην ἀρχήν 1.53.3 & 91.4, τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην 1.54.1, ἰσοκρατίας 5.92 α 1; or a detaching from it of a binding constituent: of a ruling people τῆς ἀρχῆς 1.104.2, τυράννους τῶν ἀρχέων 6.9.2; of generals 6.43.1.

16 β 2

'ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα· ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὗται μάλιστα ἐώθασι [αἱ] ὄψιες [τῶν] ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας.'

1 θεῖα ὦ παῖ **dP** 3 αὗται Reiske: αὐταὶ L: αὑταὶ Rosén | ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες **a**: ἐώθασι ὄψιες **dP**: ἐώθασι ὄψιες αἱ Rosén | τῶν om. **d**

'But these things, my son, are not of a divine nature either. For dreams that have strayed towards men are of such a nature as I will inform you (of), who am older than you by many years: those things most of all are wont to be astray as apparitions of dreams, which one ponders by daytime. And we, during the days before this, had this military expedition in hand, and that with a vengeance.'

οὐδέ '*not . . . either*': no more than any of Xerxes' earlier pretexts did in Artabanus' eyes deserve the vindication θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει which Xerxes claimed for them in advance at 8 α 1 above, and in contrast with the actual workings of the god explained by Artabanus in 10 ε. STEIN's assumption of a virtual ellipse of 'you are wrong again'[1] is perhaps 'a very forced interpretation', as DENNISTON p. 198 objects, but his postulate of a separate meaning of οὐδέ (III) 'as an emphatic negative, "not at all"',[2] on the strength of this and just three more—out of a total of 240—Herodotean instances, two of them (8.25.2, 9.7 α 2) in a collocation οὐ μὲν οὐδέ (19 instances in H.), and the third (1.75.6) not found in the MSS. ABCP, is not more convincing.

ὦ παῖ '*my son*': for ὦ see on 9.1 above s.v. ὦ δέσποτα.[3] If it is true that the word is an expression of some emotional involvement then it goes well with παῖ: by this form of address, and with σε ἐγὼ[4] διδάξω and his appeal to the authority of greater age, Artabanus adroitly turns to account the opportunities Xerxes has given him by referring to his own youth and immaturity and by acknowledging Artabanus' age as claiming some respect in 13.2 above. The relation-

[1] 'als sollte zunächst folgen: "auch hiervon ist deine Ansicht nicht richtig". Statt dessen sagt Art. gleich worin der Irrtum liege.'

[2] After 'I. Connective' and 'II. Responsive', from pp. 190 and 194 respectively, and before (IV) 'a few other passages', whose 'interpretation . . . is doubtful', p. 198.

[3] P. 50.

[4] The very use of the optional first person pronoun has a confident ring.

ship indicated by πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐών in 10.1 above is first disturbed by Xerxes, then restored from both sides.—Cf. on α 1 above s.v. ὦ βασιλεῦ.[1]

πεπλανημένα, πεπλανῆσθαι '*(have, having) strayed, (be, being) astray*': in their immediate context the participle by its collocation with ἐς implies that the movement, the action of πλανᾶν, is taken into account, and the infinitive, especially in view of (1) ἐώθασι both as to (*a*) its meaning and to (*b*) the fact that it is nowhere else followed by a perfect infinitive, and (2) the present tense of φροντίζει, implies that the verb functions much like a present tense. The surplus value of the perfect over a present tense, then, seems to be not so much that we have a fact of (past) experience, as that the dreams are 'abroad, on the wing (cf. ἀποπτάσθαι 12.2 & ἐπιπτήσεται 15.3 above), essentially out of control': cf. Pl. *Tim.* 47 B 7–C 4, where the περίοδοι of the νοῦς in heaven and of god are opposed, as being ἀτάρακτοι and ἀπλανεῖς, to the περιφοραί of the διανόησις in us mortals as being τεταραγμέναι and πεπλανημέναι. With the participle Artabanus anticipates and insinuates the definition he announces by incorporating *definiens* in *definiendum*; very strictly speaking he is begging the question.

πεπλανῆσθαι . . . φροντίζει '*be astray . . . ponders*': the specification given by the author of περὶ διαίτης is almost too apt for H. to have had Artabanus refer to it even should he have known it: it is a sign of health if we dream of things in the same way that we have been occupied with them in the daytime, but of physical disturbance (τάραχον ἐν τῷ σώματι) if our dreams are in conflict with this (Hipp. *Vict.* ch. 88).

αὗται '*those*': Reiske's reading, just like the αὑταί '(of) themselves' of the MSS., is no more than an interpretation of the *archetypus*' AYTAI. It is preferable not because αὑταί would not make sense, but because τά κτλ., which lacks a formal antecedent, calls for some introduction embedding it in the utterance, and more particularly for an indication that it does not depend on nearby ὀνειράτων with which it happens to agree in gender, but is on a par with ὄψιες syntactically and semantically.[2]

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[1] P. 218.

[2] Rosén's attempt ('temptavi') αὑταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασι ὄψιες αἱ τῶν ὀνειράτων appears to be uncalled for.

[αἱ] . . . [τῶν] '*the*' (*bis*): conceivably the need for αἱ was felt when αὗται was misread as αὐταί, and brought τῶν in its wake.

ὄψιες '*sights*', i.e. '*apparitions*': the word is frequently applied to dreams, sometimes with a specification, as in book 7 at 12.1 above ἐν τῇ νυκτί, below at 19.1 ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ & 18.1 & 47.1 τοῦ ἐνυπνίου & 47.2 ὀνείρου, but without any such adjunct 15.1 & 18.4. The inverse order in τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐνύπνιον at 4.172.3.

φροντίζει '*ponders*': the verb (19 x in H.), like the noun φροντίς (5 x) which it derives from, and compared to φρονεῖν (33 x) from which this noun in turn derives, applies to instances of relatively intensive, deliberate, and prolonged thinking. Cf. on 8 α 2 above s.v. ἐφρόντιζον . . . φροντίζων.[1]

(τὰς) **πρὸ τοῦ** (ἡμέρας) '(the days) *before this*': cf. 2.121 β 2 τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων, and contrast πρότερος: with χρόνος 5.41.1 ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, with ἡμέρη 1.126.4 τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην . . ., τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν κτλ, 7.223.2 οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες, 9.57.3 ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρῃσι ἡμέρῃσι. In these examples the adjective is used to mark a *symmetrical contrast* between past and present, whereas the prepositional phrase delimits a stretch of the past as a *foil* against which a present fact is to be understood.

καὶ τὸ κάρτα '*(and that) very much (so)*': out of six instances of the adverb 'intensified' (Powell s.v. II 3) by both καί and τό this is the only one occurring in a speech. The particle makes it explicit that the qualification is significant, not predictable. It is less easy to state what is contributed by the article, apart from size and thereby weight: perhaps an appeal to the hearer's previous awareness of the high degree in question?—Cf. καὶ μάλα in 11.2 above with note s.v.[2]

εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας '*had in hand*': this one instance in H. of the phrase with the preposition μετά + acc. is a tenuous basis on which to establish a difference in distribution or sense from the commoner expression with ἐν, yet it seems fitting that μετά is used by the reluctant Artabanus, with a plural subject 'we', and for what has been

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[1] P. 21.
[2] Pp. 159–60.

placed ἐς μέσον (8 δ 2) for deliberation, but ἐν by the warmonger Mardonius, with the singular subject Xerxes, for what he is actually engaged on at the time (5.2 τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις).[1] Thuc. 1.138.3 (Themistocles) ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος εἴη κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο is likewise fairly wide and loose, but Thuc. does not have the corresponding expression with ἐν.[2]

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[1] Cf. 1.35.1 ἔχοντος δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον and 7.47.1 μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί.

[2] The other example in KG (I 508), Xen. *Ag.* 2.14 on swords as found after a battle is scarcely comparable. Homer has μετά + dative (e.g. θ 372 σφαῖραν καλὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἕλοντο), which H. does not use. C.J. Ruijgh suggests phrases such as *μετὰ χεῖρας λαβεῖν might help in explaining the use of μετά + acc., and compares a similar development in the case of περί, where the 'local' use of περί + dat. is gradually being taken over by περί + acc.

16 γ 1

‘εἰ δὲ ἄρα μή ἐστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλά τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸς συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοί, ὡς καὶ σοί, διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι.’

1 ἄρα] ὅρα RV: ὅραμα S | τοιοῦτο **a**S: τοιόνδε P | διαιρῶ P | τι] τοι A | θείου Schweighaeuser: θεοῦ L 2 αὐτὸ **a**DP | ξυλλαβὼν C | φανεῖται S[V] | δὴ om. **d** 3 σὺ B 4 οὐ καὶ Schaefer: οὐκὶ **a**P: οὐχὶ **d** 5 οὐ καὶ] οὐκ CV[1]

‘*But if it turns out that this is not such a one as I analyse it, but something partaking of the divine, what you yourself have said summed it all up. For let it then appear to me too, as you say, continuing to command as it has to you. But it is bound to appear to me not a whit more if I wear your apparel than if I wear mine, nor a whit more if I rest on your couch than if I rest on mine, at least, that is, if it is disposed to appear at all.*’

εἰ δὲ ἄρα ‘*if it turns out that*’: the particle characterizes information as suggesting itself, regardless of the expectations and preferences of speaker and hearer, but here no more need be intended than ‘as you mentioned before’, i.e. a reference to 15.3 εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων. Cf. on 9 γ above s.v. εἰ . . . ἄρα,[1] and Van Ophuijsen 1993, p. 128.[2]

τοῦτο τοιοῦτον οἷον ‘*this . . . such a one as*’: after his general statement in β 2 that dreams are τοιαῦτα . . . οἷα ‘*such . . . as*’, Artabanus comes to the dream we are dealing with now—implicitly acknowledging that it is indeed *one* dream.

διαιρέω literally ‘*take apart*’, hence either physically ‘*divide, distribute*’ (16 x in H.) or mentally ‘*resolve, analyse*’: also 2.6.1 τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ

[1] P. 72.

[2] ‘An affinity of ἄρα with statements which the speaker does not accept personal responsibility for but e.g. (1) presents as resting on evidence just as accessible to the addressee as to himself, or (2) assumes for the sake of the argument, accounts for its fairly regular occurrence with propositions he is prepared to entertain, regardless of whether he considers them (1) probable . . ., or (2) improbable . . . In (2) the operative notion seems to be the perspective on a different universe of discourse, or possible world: thus . . . with an indicative mood with the speaker dissociating himself from the supposition by lexical means, at 7.16 γ 1 . . . where in addition an “as you mentioned earlier” may be hinted at, i.e. a reference to 15.3.’

μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, 4.23.5 τὰς διαφοράς, and used by Xerxes of his interlocutors on three occasions below: addressed to Artabanus 47.1 βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπηίης πέρι ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἵην περ σὺ διαιρέαι εἶναι παυσώμεθα & 50.1 οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι ἀτάρ κτλ, and to Demaratus 103.1 εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστι τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις in connection with numerical strength and proportions. The use of the medium in 47.1 & 50.1 is presumably to represent Xerxes as leaving the responsibility for Artabanus' words with him alone—'you may argufy as much as you like'—in 50.1 because he wishes to contradict them, in 47.1 because he chooses to dismiss the subject.

(τοῦ) θείου '*(the) divine*' SCHWEIGHÄUSER, as against the consensus of the MSS. (τοῦ) θεοῦ '*(the) god*'. There is of course no objection to 'the god' as such, cf. 10 ε above (4 x) and 9.16.4 ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ; if anything it is the notion of something, even a dream, *sharing in* or *partaking of* him (μετέχον) which may give offence.

πᾶν '(it) *all*', '(the) *whole* (matter)' rather than 'everything': predicative (VAN GRONINGEN), cf. next note.

αὐτός '(your)*self*': i.e. so that there is no need for me to repeat it; perhaps also, with a view to Artabanus' earlier distinction between having the right notions and being open to those of other men, 'without any prompting by me'. The variant αὐτό, though equally well attested,[1] is comparatively pointless; if it is more than a simple scribal error it was presumably suggested by a feeling that πᾶν, to be predicative, should be accompanied by an explicit object.

συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας '*you have summed up*': the present application is related to the uses of the verb for (1) collecting the survivors of a battle 5.46.2, (2) gathering all the blessings of life, a thing impossible for any man according to Solon 1.32.8, (3) grasping the meaning of an oracle (5 x in the MSS. of H.);[2] and most closely to the more explicit words of Darius 3.82.5 ἑνὶ δὲ ἔπεϊ πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. Cf. πολλὰ συλλαβὼν ἐρῶ Eur. fr. 362,5 N.[2]; Thuc. uses ξυνελών: λέγω 2.41.1, 3.40.4, ξυνελόντες λέγομεν 6.80.3, φαίη 1.70.9, ἂν δηλώσειεν 5.105.4.

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[1] By **a**DP.
[2] And an Aldine conjecture at 1.91.5 for οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέβαλ(λ)ε(ν) preceded by οὐ συλλαβὼν . . . τὸ ῥηθέν.

συλλαβών '*summing up*': there is nothing to add to Xerxes' words in 15, and the conclusion that Xerxes is unable to follow Artabanus' advice (οὐκ . . . δυνατός εἰμι ταῦτα, i.e. τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο, ποιέειν 15.2) because the expedition is god's wish (οἱ . . . ἐν ἡδονῇ 15.3) is inescapable if the dream continues its commands in front of Artabanus as well as of the king (φανήτω . . . καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον, cf. 15.3 ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ . . . ὁμοίως [ὡς] καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον).

εἴρηκας '*you have said*': the perfect stresses that a definitive statement is available and effective at present.[1] Cf. KEIL 1963, pp. 37–8.

φανήτω . . . καὶ ἐμοί, ὡς καὶ σοί, διακελευόμενον '*let it appear to me too, continuing to command, as it has to you*': we have something of a zeugma. Strictly speaking the dream is defied to show itself διακελευόμενον to Artabanus as it has been showing itself κελεῦον to the king.

φανήτω (. . .) καὶ ἐμοί '*let it appear to me too*': the repetition towards the end of Artabanus' speech in γ 3 establishes this as its upshot.

φανήτω '*let it appear*': the finite verb, together with the pronoun ἐμοί '*to me*', carries greater emphasis than the participle. Artabanus challenges the dream to *prove* itself to *his* eyes persevering in what it has been doing. The reading φανεῖται of S[V] is needlessly facile.

The verb, passive in 141 out of 155 instances in H., in 56[2] of these without ptc. or inf. complement, in 27 of these of persons and personified things such as gods, a τέρας, a φάσμα,[3] and dreams: five instances, four of them in the present chapter and three in the present section of it, the fifth in 47.1 below. There as here the simple verb alternates with the compound ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, for which see on γ 2 s.v. ἐπιφαινόμενον below.[4]

γάρ '*for*': The particle relates at once to (1) the *grammatical* meaning of the mood: Artabanus is able to declare that the king has said all there is to be said because he is prepared to let the phenomena

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[1] In addition, C.J. Ruijgh would consider this an instance of the 'totalisant' use of the perfect; see footnote 5 p. 27 to the note on ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας at 8 β 1.

[2] Adding that in 4.45.4 with an indirect question as subject οὔτε ὅστις ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται to those which POWELL s.v. II 4 brings under the heading 'absol.'

[3] For that at 8.84.2 see on διακελευόμενον below.

[4] P. 250.

appear and, literally, speak for themselves; his very obedience is turned into a compliment; and to (2) the *lexical* meaning of the verb: 'you have said it: you mentioned its appearing'. The scribe who originated the reading φανεῖται of S[V] missed the first of these two connections.

δή *'then'*, *'as you say'*: though the particle has a general affinity to things plain to the senses and in particular to those visible to the eye (cf. on 8 β 1 above s.v.),[1] its chief use here is to connote that this notion of the dream appearing to Artabanus has been expressed in the preceding context—in this case by Xerxes, whom it is important to give credit wherever this is possible. Cf., from the present context, 15.2 τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δή after μετέγνων; and below, γ 2 εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως (sc. to me too), after διακελευόμενον here, φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει and implied by the preceding εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὔτε ἦν . . . οὔτε ἦν . . ., σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, with which it is contrasted. The two instances of the particle earlier in γ 2 in οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθίης ἀνήκει τοῦτο ὅ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι κτλ are different: both serve Artabanus' purpose of avoiding the need to don the king's apparel, the first by presenting the absurdity of supposing that the dream should be fooled by this as *obvious*, the second by stressing that this holds good for *any* manner of dream, regardless of whether Artabanus' view as to their nature is accepted or not.

διακελευόμενον *'continuing to command'*: the preverb δια- with this verb in H. (9 x) is put to diverse uses. In three instances, all intransitive with plural subject, the κελεύειν involved is either (1) to each other, *reciprocal*, or (2) *passed on* from one person to another: 1.1.4 of the Phoenicians capturing the women of Argos, 3.77.3 of Darius and his confederates stabbing the eunuchs of the magi, and 9.22.3 of the Persian cavalry deprived of their leader Masistius. Interpretation (2) is most explicitly indicated at 9.5.3 in πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἤισαν αὐτοκελέες. The case of Croesus who διακελεύσομαι all the picked men who are about to go out to kill the Mysian boar at 1.36.3 is related only to the extent that the exhortation is addressed to each of them, therefore *distributive*

[1] P. 28.

as to its object. A little later at 1.42.2 Croesus' appeal, on behalf of his son Atys, to Adrastus to join the hunting party is acknowledged by Adrastus in the words σπεύδεις and διακελεύεαι; actually all that Croesus said was χρηΐζω, but he did add various inducements to overcome Adrastus' reluctance. Perhaps, then, '*go on* (urging)'. Our context in one way combines the latter two: if the dream should *continue* to urge, it will have urged *distributively*. Two more instances are near to each other and yet not very similar: at 8.84.2 the apparition of a woman is said to διακελεύσασθαι the Greeks after rebuking their idleness: it is as if the preverb belonged not to the action of κελεύειν itself but to the implied complement: 'call to *proceed to* action'. Finally, at 8.80.1 Aristides shares his knowledge with his old rival Themistocles and ends by telling him to 'go in (where the Greek commanders were in conference) and inform them'; Themistocles' reply begins with the words κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἤγγειλας. It may be related to the cases we began with, especially to 9.5.3, in that the exortation is not *based* on the news which Aristides has just brought, but is an exhortation to *pass on* this very news, which Themistocles realises has been communicated to him for no other purpose; and this in turn assimilates it to 8.84.2 as far as the preverb has reference to an implicit complement of the exhortation.

φανῆναι . . . φανῆναι '*appear* (it ought to . . . if it is willing at all to) *appear*': the composition of the sentence, closed in by the repeated aorist infinitive denoting the definite and decisive appearance, brings forcibly home what should be the criterion for the views which are to guide our future behaviour. The rest of the sentence is intended to make it clear that where and in what outfit Artabanus will prepare himself for the apparition does not affect the outcome either way. Artabanus is wisely reluctant to usurp royal prerogatives;[1] but the question of dress or undress is subordinated to his more important purpose of making the expected non-appearance of the dream as significant as he can make it in advance.

ὀφείλει '*it is obliged*': from a more strict 'owing' of a debt or other obligation which accounts for most of the 16 instances in H. the meaning of the verb widens to include whatever a subject cannot

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[1] If we insist on finding irrational motives behind Artabanus' ostensible rationalism it may be speculated that, without backing down on his psychological explanation, he fears the royal apparel will 'put things into his head'.

avoid or escape, as below, 50.2 εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις, 'you are drawing it on yourself' as it were, & 203.2 (λέγοντες . . . ὡς . . .·) οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα . . . ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα . . . τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμείχθη . . .· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα ὡς ἐόντα θνητὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν [ἄν] '. . . was *bound*. . .', and here. Cf. English 'ought', which as an original past tense corresponds more closely to ὤφελον in form, but not in sense.

οὐδὲν μᾶλλον . . . ἢ οὐ καί '*not more . . . than*'. The parallels cited by Abicht, 4.118.3 ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι and 5.94.2 ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, are most apt, and his claim (*ad* 4.118 & 5.94 where cf. Stein) that an ἢ unaccompanied by οὐ would indicate an interpretation '*a* is as *un*true as *b*' carries conviction, but the paraphrase by which he hopes to explain the construction, 'Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass mir, wenn ich deine königliche Kleidung trage, das Traumbild eher (= lieber) erscheinen wollte, als mir nicht erscheinen, wenn ich meine eigene trüge' is somewhat perplexing. We should recall that in constructions of the form 'A as well as B' or 'A not more than B' strictly speaking the second member is treated as given and the first is measured against it. The underlying or 'logical' structure, then, is perhaps, with the double negation fully in force, '(1) it is *not* the case that it is *not* bound to appear if I wear my own dress, and (2) it is *not at all more* bound to appear if I wear yours'; without οὐ in the second member we would have '(1) it is *not* the case that it is bound to appear if I wear my dress, and (2) *no more* is it bound to do so if I wear yours'. We can now accomodate καί: 'it is *not more* bound to appear if I wear your dress than it is bound too if I wear my own'; as we might say, 'than it is *already* bound'.[1]

ἀναπαυομένῳ '*resting*': of the six instances in H., 1.12.2 has reference to the rest Candaules, for the last time, takes at night in his θάλαμος, 181.4 & 182.1 to that afforded by θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι and a κλίνη respectively; 2.95.2, where κατεύδειν is mentioned, to that enjoyed in a κοίτῃ as here, 5.19.1 to retiring from a δεῖπνον and πόσις.

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[1] Cf. on this so-called 'überflüssige Negation' KG II 219–20. C.J. Ruijgh compares French 'Il est plus sage qu'il n'était autrefois' ~ 'Autrefois il n'était pas si sage.' (cf. KG II 220 note 1).

(εἴ) **πέρ** (γε) '(at least,) *that is*, (if)': by περ the previous claim is squarely tied to the following condition; cf. on 14 above s.v. (ἦν) περ;[1]

(εἴ πέρ) **γε** '*at least* (, that is, if)': by γε this it is made explicit that this is a limitation. Cf. on 10 β 1 above s.v. (εἰ . . .) γε.[2]

καὶ ἄλλως '*otherwise as well*', '*at all*', i.e. if there are no other circumstances which might prevent its appearance. Similarly at 2.77.3 the Egyptians pursue (2 θηρώμενοι 'hunt'—the only instance in H.) health by means of emetics and clysters, but they are καὶ ἄλλως the healthiest, after the Libyans, of men: 'as far as other things are concerned', i.e. even without their purgations. At 8.30.2 the Phocians disobey a summons from the Thessalians to collaborate with the Persians, pointing out that they could have done so εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο: 'had they so desired on any other count', i.e. apart from being prompted by the Thessalians. POWELL's heading for these three instances s.v. 5. 'actually, in fact' is indefensibly feeble.

ἐθέλει: '*is disposed*' reproduces the ambivalence of the verb between (1) ascribing some form of volition, as it may often be understood, and (2) merely stating (*a*) habitual behaviour or (*b*) a 'future event'; in fact the same brew might be distilled from '*will*', if pressed. Cf. on 10 δ 2 & θ 3 above s.vv. θέλει and θελήσεις respectively.[3]

Of the 188 instances in H. listed by POWELL the odd man out is 9.14 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι, which he does not translate (s.v. 3—a division consisting of just this one instance), and in his *tr.* renders by '. . . he took counsel, whether haply he might first destroy these'. DE SÉLINCOURT's '. . . wishing, if possible, to . . . he turned the matter over . . .' makes the other possible construction explicit: the ingredients are equivalent to 'deliberated (ἐβουλεύετο) desirous for (θέλων) the case in which (εἰ) somehow (πως) he might . . . (ἕλοι)', with εἰ relating to *both* θέλων and ἐβουλεύετο.[4]

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[1] Pp. 200–1.

[2] Pp. 88–9.

[3] Pp. 110–12 and 144 respectively. It is not clear why POWELL does not include the present instance with those (11, with MSS. varying between present optative of θέλειν and future indicative of ἐθέλειν at 2.14.1 and between present optative and indicative of both stems at 7.49.4) under his heading '7. in hypothetical conditions'. His *tr.* has 'if it will appear at all'.

[4] On this instance see WAKKER 1994, pp. 371–2.

16 γ 2

'οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθίης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἢν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἢν τὴν σήν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι.'

1 τοσοῦτόν RSV | εὐηθείης CP: εὐηθείας **d** (εὐηθίας D[1]) | κοτέ om. **d** 2 τοι]σοι **d** 5 σὲ δὲ **d**: οὐδὲ **aP** | ἐστί(ν) **dP** 5 δὴ] μοι T

'*For obviously that, whatsoever it is that is appearing to you in your sleep, has not come up to such a degree of gullibility that, seeing me, it will think it is seeing you, judging by your apparel. But if it will not take any account of me and will not see fit to appear to (me), neither if I have my own apparel on me nor if (I have) yours, but will keep frequenting you, this plainly and undeniably will be something which requires to be noted. For if, as we supposed, it will continue its visits, then I myself too would say that it is divine.*'

οὐ . . . ἐς τοσοῦτο . . . εὐηθίης ἀνήκει τοῦτο '*that . . . has not come up to that degree of gullibility*': cf. 9 γ above οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θάρσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα with note s.v. ἐς . . . ἀνήκει[1] & 13.2 φρενῶν . . . ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔκω ἀνήκω.

δή '*obviously*': see on γ 1 above s.v.[2]

εὐηθίης '*gullibility*': of the original '*good*ness of *character*' little is left in H. that is positive: perhaps most at 3.139.3, where Syloson, after presenting the as yet unknown Darius with his coat, is at first convinced (ἠπίστατο) that he has lost it δι' εὐηθίην. The only other contexts whether for adjective or noun are 1.60.3, where both, the noun being qualified by ἠλιθίου 'idle, vain', are associated with a pre-Hellenic state of barbarism and opposed to σοφίη and the quality of being δεξιώτερον—roughly cleverness and *savoir faire*—and 2.45.1, where the adjective is applied to a μῦθος of the Greeks who λέγουσι many other things ἀνεπισκέπτως: without due consideration, 'ill-advisedly', thereby showing their 'lack of experience' (ἀπείρως ἔχειν 2.45.2) or ignorance of things Egyptian.

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[1] P. 72.
[2] P. 245.

ὅ τι δὴ κοτε '*whatsoever*': for δή see on γ 1 above s.v.;[1] for the indefinite relative brought into relief by both δή and ποτε cf. 1.157.2 τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων and, greatly enhanced by repetition of δή, 6.134.2 (Miltiades) ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὅ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὅ τι δή κοτε πρήξοντα.[2]

ἐπιφαινόμενον, ἐπιφανῆναι 'appear(ing) *to*' is used when the act is implicitly conceived as relating to an observer; contrast φανήτω and φανῆναι (*bis*) in γ 1 above '(let it) *manifest itself* (to me &c.)', where the intended observer is made emphatically explicit at the first occurrence in καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοί; cf. above s.v. φανήτω.[3] The same alternation below 47.1 (Xerxes) εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὴς οὕτω ἐφάνη & 2 (Artabanus) ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανεῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου and, with the adjective derived from the compound thrown in, 3.27.1 ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἆπις . . . ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου . . . (3) οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῇ κτλ. Of the 15 instances in H.[4] one more refers to a god (2.91.5 Perseus); Powell's classification of one more instance under his heading (2) 'appear in a dream . . . *so* 5.92 η 2' (italics added; the reference is to Melissa replying to Periander's messengers to the oracle of the dead among the Thesprotoi on the Acheron) is confusing;[5] the only epiphanies in dreams are those in 7.16 γ 2 & 47.2. Other (non-) epiphaenomena include armies and soldiers, Arion (1.24.7) and other men, and (8.49.2) τιμωρίη οὐδεμία.

ὥστε '(such, so) *that*': for the construction of the conjunction with an infinitive cf. 9 β 2 above οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι and, with mere ὡς, 3.146.1 οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι; with an indicative also 2.120.2 οὐ . . . οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβὴς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι . . . ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι . . . κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένῃ συνοικέῃ. The indica-

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[1] P. 245.

[2] Powell s.v. κοτε refers to 3.129.2, for which read 3.129.3, ὅκου δήποτε **dP**; **a** and the Constantine excerpt just have δή.

[3] P. 244.

[4] The reference to 7.10 γ 2 in Powell s.v. 2 should read 7.16 γ 2.

[5] This instance resembles at least as much that at 6.61.4 of the woman appearing to the nurse who daily took to the temple of Helen at Therapne the ugly duckling that was to become the greatest beauty in Sparta and the mother of Demaratus.

tive expresses that the result is not merely entailed by the preceding main clause but is actually the case; this yields a slightly different focus, the main clause receding into the background just to the extent that the subordinate clause claims more attention as an independent statement in its own right. Cf. KG II 511–5.

τεκμαιρόμενον '*judging by*': on τεκμαίρεσθαι in H. cf. Hohti 1977, p. 9.

εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν . . . σὲ δὲ . . . τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται '*if . . . not me . . . but . . . you . . . here plainly and undeniably will be something which requires to be . . .*': for premisses of similar structure cf. 10 θ 3 above εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν . . . οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ . . . ἀνάξεις . . ., ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι, and with another deontic expression with a demonstrative as its object, accompanied by ἤδη, 6.9.4 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ . . . ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε. Other collocations of demonstrative with ἤδη at 2.147.1 and 7.157.2 ἢν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι, οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾖ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, with the demonstrative at least partly pointing backwards as here.

εἰ '*if*', although '(= ob) hängt von μαθητέον ἔσται ab' Abicht, and similarly Stein, H.&W., Van Groningen. The only formal sign that the present instance of the conjunction should thus be given a different interpretation from those in γ 1 above as well as those in the sequel of the period and in γ 3 below, comes later in the same clause in the negatives οὐδενί &c., as opposed to μή in γ 1, but these are partly explained by the fact that ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι is one concept 'spurn'; other instances of οὐ in conditional clauses e.g. 10 θ 3 above εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις with note s.v.,[1] here the same explanation holds, and 6.9.4 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι; there as here the fact that a positive second clause follows seems relevant to the choice: 'if it is the case that (-*p* & + *q*)' rather than 'unless *p*'.—Perhaps, then, we should allow for the listener or reader being corrected in the initial expectation of another conditional sentence: '(γ 1) Let us suppose, then, that it should not be as I say it is: in that case you have said all there is to be said: let it appear—no matter what dress I would be wearing—(γ 2) it

[1] P. 143.

wouldn't be taken in by that. But if it is really going to ignore *me* and lie low, no matter whose clothes I put on, but *will* visit *you*—that will be something worth taking note of; for if it *does* continue its visits, I too would be inclined to pronounce it divine.' Artabanus evades the conclusion 'then I am proved right and you are proved wrong'. Fortunately English 'if' is similarly ambivalent. By contrast 'find out whether' is twice in H. expressed, with an explicit alternative and with the verb in front, as μαθεῖν εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . .: in 3.35.1 (μάθε) and 6.82.1 (μάθῃ).

δέ '*but*': the possibility that the dream will discriminate between Artabanus and Xerxes (ἐμὲ μέν . . . σὲ δέ) is opposed to the possibility that it will not, which is envisaged both in the preceding period and in the following sentence. This opposition is not expressed by means of balancing μέν and δέ, partly because at the beginning of these two sections other contextual relationships require to be made explicit (by δέ and ἄρα at the beginning of γ 1 and by γάρ and δή below respectively), partly because Artabanus studiously avoids any parallelism suggesting an open contest between two views.

ἀξιώσει '*assess*', '*think it worth* (appearing)', usually 'deem *fit*(*ting*)': most strictly transitive (when not passive), '*consider* (usually a person) *deserving* (in a wide sense comprehending both merit and culpability)', some (1) thing expressed in a genitive noun: active 3.53.2 ἀνακρίσιος & 145.2 γοργύρης 'dungeon', passive 9.26.2 ταύτης τῆς τάξιος & 111.4 θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, or some (2) action expressed in an infinitive verb. In the latter case the accusative denoting the object of the finite verb may at the same time serve as the object of the infinitive complement, as at 2.20.1 τὰς μὲν . . . οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι and 4.115.3 ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, with the two verbs sharing the same subject as well; or the object of ἀξιοῦν may be the subject of the infinitive, as with the passive form 3.42.1 (of a fish) Πολυκράτεϊ δῶρον δοθῆναι. This could have been expressed by an active infinitive complement δῶρον δοῦναι, as appears from 3.160.1 (Zopyrus) τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσέ κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν, where the reflexive pronoun is naturally understood as the object of the transitive complement συμβαλεῖν as well as of the finite verb: 'no Persian considered himself fit for comparison with him'; contrast 6.126.2 ἑωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, where the intransitive verb γενέσθαι serving as complement makes the same pronoun unambiguously its own subject and the object of ἀξιοῖ. Reflexivity is expressed not by active voice with accusative reflexive pronoun but by the middle

voice in two instances in H. (on a total of 17):[1] at 1.199.1 οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, which in ἄλλῃσι obliquely refers to a correlative for an implied measurement or comparison and in the narrative opening sentence of the present chapter Artabanus οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, and any explicit mention of a concrete object assessed is suppressed in 5.42.2 on the two brothers of whom ὁ Δωριεὺς . . . οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, where one might hesitate between mentally supplying 'himself' or taking the infinitive itself as the sole object, 'who did not see fit to be ruled by'; cf. *h.l.*, where the verb could be understood either intransitively or with the object ἐμέ of the preceding verb phrase.

At 5.106.3 τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι the context shows the finite verb to be passive, not medium, which entails identity of subject with the infinitive. At 2.162.4 ὁ Ἄμασις . . . ἀπεματάϊσε καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίῃ ἀπάγειν. (4) ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν (i.e. to the king, Apries) there is no need to postulate, with Powell, a separate use 'request' (*tr.* 'besought'): what is expressed is that his indecent behaviour does not render Amasis unfit in Patarbemis' opinion to be taken to the king, and it is left to be understood that this is a sufficient condition for Patarbemis' conveying the king's summons to that effect. Finally, the verb is exceptionally used of a value-neutral judgment of fact at 6.87 ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι 'estimating that they were injured', where any notion of a valuation is excluded by the sense.

ἤδη '*here plainly* (is something which) *incontestably* (must be taken note of)': cf. γ 3 & 18.2 below and 9 α 2, where see note s.v.,[2] & 11.4 above.

μαθητέον '(which) *must be taken note of*': the aorist accounts for all but 16[3] of the 148[4] instances of the verb in H. It denotes taking in

[1] Including that of 3.20.2 τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν, where the finite verb is lacking in **d**.

[2] P. 60.

[3] The two present indicatives in H. are both second person singular with a negative, 1.39.1 τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον and 3.1.4 διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις: 'you *fail to grasp*'. Likewise in the negative is one of two infinitives of the present stem, at 1.191.6 τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας ἀλλά (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο 'those living in the centre never heard they

information, both of the knowing that—and of the know-how variety (the latter e.g. 9.111.5, Xerxes to Masistes, ὡς μάθῃς τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι), whether by sense perception (3.69.6 ἤφασσε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ . . . οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα . . .) or by experience generally (6.84.3 Cleomenes' μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν the Scythians), by word of mouth, or by some sort of inference (2.152.5 μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον) or ratiocination or combination of any of

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had been captured but continued their revels until they did learn it, and then with a vengeance'; the other one at 1.8.4 forms part of a statement of the greatest generality—greater even then the preceding one, that a woman in taking off her dress takes off her αἰδώς, which it motivates: πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἓν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Of the two present participles, that at 2.167.1 is found in a context of perfect forms: εἰ μέν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι ὁρῶν . . . σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιέων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους. (2) μεμαθήκασι δ' ὦν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες (. . .); here again an aorist would reduce the quite general and definitive scope of the statement, limiting it to just those individuals who have actually in the past learnt some trade. At 3.38.4 in εἴρετο παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι κτλ an aorist would suggest that the λεγόμενα interpreted to the Greeks did not include the present question but were previous statements. The two imperfects, finally, are in 7.208.2 & 3 ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὒ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος . . . οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε (. . .). (3) τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα . . ., τοὺς δὲ (. . .) ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην. The first seems to be largely a matter of focus (cf. SICKING 1996, pp. 74–82), to do with the fact that, though the word has not occurred, the notion of μανθάνειν or μαθεῖν is not new to the context: 'what he could make out was not the entire camp, for the men inside the wall it was impossible to see: what *he* noted were the men *outside*'; the second serves to structure the narrative in successive stages and should be connected with the aorist participle immediately following: 'he (1) was amazed and (2) ascertained their number; and when he had ascertained everything accurately he (3) rode away at his ease.' With an aorist finite verb one would skip phase two and deprive oneself of the use of the familiar and effective structuring device of having the finite verb of one sentence recur as a participle in the next sentence: in fact 79 of the aorist forms of the verb in H. are participles, and out of the 29 indicatives 17 are found in semantically comparable clauses dependent on ὡς or ἐπεί.

The perfect indicative μεμαθήκασι, which we encountered in the context of the present participle at 2.167.1 & 2 quoted above, is used in tracing (Greek) national customs there and at 2.51.1 & 58 and 4.189.3, as is the infinitive μεμαθηκέναι at 2.104.3 (*bis*; non-Greek); contrast the aorist at 2.109.3 referring to the aetiology of such a borrowing, geometry, in surveying: δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρία εὑρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες: its successive historical invention and adoption, rather than the bare fact of its Babylonian origin, are envisaged.

[4] Or 149, if we count 3.119.2 ἔμαθε(ν) **d**, ἐξέμαθε rell.

these (3.52.5 μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι). This versatility makes it apt to summarize heuristic procedures and cognitive processes, as in 5.91.1 ἀνέλαβον (...) τοὺς χρησμούς, ... ὥρων ... νόῳ λαβόντες ... μαθόντες [δὲ] τούτων ἕκαστα and 9.33.4 ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν ..., μαθὼν τοῦτο κτλ: for various other relationships between seeing and μαθεῖν cf. 3.14.3 & 6 & 134.6, 6.69.3, 7.37.2. An unmistakably Herodotean mixed bag of fact, consideration, and observation provides the object of the verb at 6.61.3 ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἡ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁρῶσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε. At 7.46.1 μαθεῖν is in its turn resumed by φράζεσθαι in a context where the more specific ὁρᾶν had already been conspicuously applied and could not be repeated without spoiling an effect: 45 ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν ..., πάσας δὲ ..., ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. (46.1) μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς ..., οὗτος ὠνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην δακρύσαντα κτλ.

ἔσται '*will be*': the variant ἐστί(ν) of **d**P is a *lectio facilior* with little to recommend it. By using the future tense Artabanus prudently defers the moment when his own view of the dream may be seen to triumph over Xerxes'.

εἰ ... ἐπιφοιτήσει ... φαίην ἄν 'if it *is* going to ..., I *would* say': for the future indicative in the conditional clause followed by the potential optative in the main clause cf. 8.108.2 εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργασαίατο.[1] Within these conditional statements the condition itself, which is present in the context, is for the moment not marked as being hypothetical other than by the conjunction εἰ. One consequence is that the complex statement as a whole can still be marked as having reference to the future. A rather different effect results from the main clause being put in front at 7.161.3 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων

[1] Cf. KG II 467–8. Also cf. Wakker 1994, pp. 167–89, who summarizes the differences between the three possible conditionals referring to the future as follows (p. 188) 'a) εἰ with future indicative, presenting a neutral condition in which a speaker shows indeterminacy concerning the future realization of the S[tate]o[f]A[ffairs] involved; b) ἐάν with (futural) subjunctive, presenting a condition the (future) realization of which is presented as very well possible; c) εἰ with optative, presenting a potential condition in which the speaker presents realization as possible and no more than that.'

στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν, where the absurdity of the supposition, which has been intimated in advance, is made to stand out more clearly by presenting it non-hypothetically.

δή '*as we supposed*': see on γ 1 above s.v.[1] The variant μοι of T is incompatible with συνεχέως and but for this would be too facile for consideration, but that its originator took the clause to refer to Artabanus as object is both correct and significant.

(εἰ . . .) γε: see on 10 β 1 above s.v.;[2] γε cannot be rendered other than by slightly stressing '*if* (it) *persists* (in its visits) . . .'. A discreet reminder that the assent which Artabanus in this sentence declares himself willing to give depends on one condition.

συνεχέως '*continuously*', '*without intermission*', i.e. tonight like yesternight and the night before. The hypothesis is that the apparition will not forgo its regular visit because this time it is going to find not Xerxes but Artabanus at its destination. Homeric συνεχὲς αἰεί is echoed by the only other instance in H. at 1.67.1 (the Spartans) κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας: they were beaten in every successive battle without exception. The adjective συνεχής (2 x in H.) is at 2.148.4 applied to αὐλαί *en suite*, at 4.22.2 to Northern tribes not divided by deserts.—Powell's unhelpfully apodictic statement[3] that 'It needs no proof that συνεχῶς φοιτᾶν means "visit Xerxes consistently," and not, as Stein and Abicht (. . .) interpret it, "visit me no less than you"' is an instance of confusing lexical meaning with final interpretation. The phrase *means* 'visit continuously'; seeing that in what precedes we have found the dream ἐπιφοιτῶν,[4] the ἐπιφοιτᾶν is *given*, the συνεχέως *new*; we can do justice to this fact by translating εἰ . . . ἐπιφοιτήσει . . . συνεχέως not as 'if it will visit continuously' but as 'if it will continue to visit' or '—its visits'. The context, with θεῖον εἶναι resuming τοῦ θείου μετέχον from γ 1, makes it clear that this *refers to* the possibility that, after visiting Xerxes, it will now visit Artabanus—as opposed to the possibility considered in the previous sentence, that the dream will visit Xerxes while ignoring Artabanus. His failure to make this distinction lands

[1] P. 245.
[2] Pp. 88–9.
[3] Powell 1935b, pp. 161–2.
[4] Thus literally 15.2.

Powell with a notion that the period from εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μέν down to θεῖον εἶναι 'rests the proof of its' (i.e. the dream's) 'supernatural origin not upon its objectivity, but on its persistent subjectivity'. In reality the sentence rests the *refutation* of this origin on its being reserved to one subject. We shall not infer, then, that we have an 'intrusion' or (*tr.*, p. iv) 'interpolation' and do gratuitous violence to the text by excising the sentence as 'one of Herodotus' later additions (. . .), made under the impression that he was elucidating a train of thought which . . . he was in fact obscuring': a crude remedy in the best of cases, and here applied to an imaginary evil.

φαίην ἄν '*I would say*': the third person φαίη ἄν is used with an indefinite subject at 4.97.5 φαίη τις ἄν 'a man might say' and 7.129.4 ὅστις . . . νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν . . . καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι, confirming that the verb is apt to refer to what someone assents to rather than declares: cf. on β 1 above s.v. φῄς.[1]

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[1] P. 236.

16 γ 3

'εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι.'

1 δέδοκται P 2 ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ Schaefer: ἀλλ' [*sic*] ἤδη ἢ ἐμὲ **a**, quod defendit Rosén qui καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι ἄλλ' ἤδη ἢ ἐμὲ ita intelligit: 'et eam rem profecto nihil aliud sane [*schon* (ἤδη) *gar nichts anderes mehr*] posse avertere nisi me [*als daß ich* (ἐμὲ) . . .]': ἀλλ' [*sic*] ἤδη ἵημι dP 3 ἐπιτελουμένων P | μέχρι+ D

'*Now if it is your decision that it happens thus, and it is not possible to turn this aside, but it is plainly and incontestably necessary that I fall asleep on your couch, all right then, let it, as these things are carried to completion by me, appear to me too. And until such time I will keep to my present view.*'

εἰ δέ . . . καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε . . . '*now if . . . and* (it is) *not possible . . .*': not εἰ μή 'unless', but 'if (p & $-$ q), cf. *ad* γ 2 above s.v. εἰ.[1]

οὕτω '*so*': classified by Powell under 'III (37) deictic 1. (33) a (19) alone', i.e. without an adjective or another adverb; his criterium for separating this heading from 'I (396) referring back' and 'II (18) referring forward' is hard to gather from the present instance, which does not exemplify deixis in the strict sense opposed to anaphoric reference but is naturally understood as 'the way you explained', sc. in 15.3 above ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ . . . ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας, of which we find unquestionable verbal reminiscences here.

δεδόκηται '*is* (your) *decision*': found in Pindar, Euripides, and Aristophanes, but unique in H. as against six[2] to eight[3] instances of δέδοκται,[4] this morphologically more regular form may have been preferred as adding volume and thereby weight: 'now if it is your decision that thus it must be, and there is no possibility of turning this aside, but it is plainly and incontestably necessary for me to . . .,

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[1] Pp. 255–6.

[2] 3.85.1, 4.68.4, 8.100.5, 9.45.2 & 60.2 (δέδεκται Cobet; cf. next note) & 87.1.

[3] 4.176 δέδοκε SV, 6.109.3 δέδεκται D.

[4] C.J. Ruijgh points out that ἔδοξε and δέδοκται appear to be post-Homeric forms created on the analogy of a paradigm such as σκοπέω (instead of *σκέπτομαι)—ἐσκεψάμην, the aorist ἔδοξα preserving o-vocalism and active inflection; cf. also ὠθέω—ἔωσα; cf. Schwyzer p. 718, Chantraine s.v. δοκάω, p. 290[b].

all right then, let . . .': contrast the laconic (though spoken by Theban Timegenides) ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι at 9.87.1.

γίνεσθαι '*happen*': present stem as in Xerxes' words at 15.3 above ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα here echoed, because the reference is not to one definite outcome but to our triggering the process, i.e. the experiment *ex hypothesi* (εἰ ὦν κτλ Xerxes in 15.3, echoed and enlarged upon by Artabanus throughout 16 γ 1 & 2) which will yield the as yet unknown outcome;[1] contrast the aorist in Xerxes' words in 15.3 (εἰ ὦν . . .) οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην 'if it is his pleasure that the expedition shall by all means *become an accomplished fact*'.[2] The definite part of what is to γίνεσθαι is Artabanus' (aor.) κατυπνῶσαι, which in (pres.) ἐπιτελευμένων is again viewed as open-ended in relation to the final (aor.) φανῆναι καὶ ἐμοί.

αὐτό '*this*', non-contrastive and referring anaphorically to οὕτω . . . γίνεσθαι, whereas τοῦτο might sooner have been taken as opposed to something else or as referring to the dream, cf. in γ 2 above τοῦτο, ὅ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. Cf. on 8 γ 1 s.v. αὐτοῖσι.[3]

παρατρέψαι '*turn aside*': of diverting a river at 7.128.2 & 130.2; at 3.2.3 παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον paraphrases οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. In 17.2 below ἀποτρέπων (τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι) 'turning back, off, *away*' is a rather stronger expression adding the notion '*from* its *goal*'[4] to a mere 'from its course'. An equivalent expression but with a personified object is 1.91.2 οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν Μοίρας.

κατυπνῶσαι '*fall asleep*', as Xerxes κατύπνωσε 12.1 (narrative), κατυπνώσειας 15.3 (Xerxes' suggestion),[5] and as Heracles is said by the Scythians to κατυπνῶσαι 4.8.3; the result is expressed in the only other form in which the verb is found in H., the *passive* perfect participle: κατυπνωμένῳ again of Xerxes and Artabanus 14 above and 17.1 below respectively, κατυπνωμένον of the Magian Smerdis 3.69.3. To say that the preverb is used 'freq. only to strengthen the notion

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[1] Cf. Stork 1982, p. 193, where the present infinitive is interpreted as referring to a *course of action*.

[2] Cf. on 15.3 above p. 211 s.v. πάντως γενέσθαι.

[3] P. 36.

[4] A more specific 'from *oneself*' would presumably require the middle voice, not found in H.

[5] Where see note s.v. p. 214.

of the simple word, as in κατακόπτω, κατακτείνω, καταφαγεῖν, etc.' (LSJ s.v. κατά, E. under V) may be true but does not do justice to the fact that in all three examples, as in the present compound, it is easy to conceive of an application for the strict sense 'down(wards)'. For the, in itself unexceptional, aorist in its present context cf. s.v. γίνεσθαι above.

φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί '*let it appear to me too*': the repetition from γ 1 above announces the end and underlines the practical outcome of the speech.

παρεούσῃ '*present*' cf. α 2 above s.v. τοῦ παρεόντος.[1]

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[126] P. 233.

Third speech of the Dream (17)

17.1

τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε τάδε·

1 ὁ Ἀρτάβανος **d** | ἐλπίζων] νομίζων P 2 ἐζόμενος **d** 4 Ξέρξεα **d** (Ξέρξα V)P | ὑπερστᾶν AB 5 τάδε **d**: ἄρα **a**: τάδε ἄρα P

Having said so much, Artabanus, expecting he would prove Xerxes to be speaking words of no account, did what he was enjoined to. He put on Xerxes' apparel and seated himself on the royal throne, and as after that he had a rest, there came to him as he had fallen asleep the same dream which also came to visit Xerxes, and having placed itself over Artabanus' head it spoke the following (words):...

τοσαῦτα εἴπας '*Having said so much*': the anaphoric reference of τοσαῦτα with the lack of any explicit σύνδεσμος marks this as the conclusion of a section beginning at 16.1 with εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον. The point of choosing τοσαῦτα is not that it was a long speech: with the unmarked, more neutral ταῦτα the participle adjunct, merely echoing 16.1 εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον, would round off and relegate the speech to the background, the main burden of the sentence becoming Artabanus' subsequent action (ἐποίεε); as it is we have more of a balance: 'so much for his *words*; what he then *did* was to...': cf. 5.18.3 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης· Ὦ Πέρσαι νόμος μὲν ... ἐπείτε δὲ ... εἴπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης κτλ and contrast 11.1, after a speech twice as long as that concluded *h.l.*, in fact the longest in all of H., Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε, where the topic switch is from *Artabanus*' words to *Xerxes*' words rather than from Artabanus' *words* to Artabanus' *actions*; and cf. on 12.1 above s.v. ταῦτα ... ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο.[1]

ὁ d *h.l.* as at the beginning of 18.1. The parallel of 5.18.3 quoted in the previous note suggests that the article may be more appropriate according as the subject referred to has been more firmly established

[1] P. 172.

as the, or at least as a, topic of the relevant section. This would favour adopting it in 18.1 more strongly than *h.l.*

ἐλπίζων '*thinking—, expecting* (to); *surmising—, assuming* (he would)': the verb, derived from ἐλπίς which in turn relates to ἔλπομαι, tends to have reference to (1) *hopeful* suppositions, concerning (2) *future* events, which are (3) *disappointed.* Of these tendencies (1) seems to be given with the root meaning, cf. Latin *velle* and English 'will', whereas (2) is a mere corollary of (1), and (3) is part of the reference or connotation rather than the meaning or denotation of the verb, i.e. is a feature of the contexts in which it is used and the situations to which it is applied.[1] Cf. on 10 α 2 above s.v.[2]

ἀποδέξειν 'to (be going to) *show*': the basic force 'point to', hence 'show' is recognizable in all uses in H. (137 x), of which 'appoint, dedicate' (40 x)[3] can be accounted for as metaphorical extensions of pointing *to*, and 'declare, display, perform, execute, produce, render' of showing: cf. on 8 γ 1 above s.v. ἀποδέξομεν,[4] likewise with a participle complement to the object.

ἱζόμενος '*seating himself*': ἱζόμενος or ἑζόμενος as in **d**? The range of either of them seems to extend from '*seating himself, sitting down*' to '*having seated himself,—sat down, sitting*'. The MSS. are divided elsewhere too, with **d** showing ἑζ- at 3.65.2 (followed by ἐς, as *h.l.*)[5] and 4.145.2 (with ἐν following)[6] as well as *h.l.*, but ἱζόμενος R at 4.85.1

[1] Against Hettrich 1976, who explains the use of the present participle here in terms of (p. 25) 'die Gleichzeitigkeit der B-Handlung [ἐλπίζων] gegenüber der A-Handlung [ἐποίεε]' (p. 29: 'In 7,17,1 hatte Artabanos die Hoffnung, Xerxes widerlegen zu können, als er dessen Befehl ausführte; er hatte sie nicht etwa schon aufgegeben.') Sicking 1996 argues (pp. 35–6) that instances like *h.l.* 'do not substantiate the view that characterizing (or "coding") the time relationship between the actions involved is the one and only decisive criterium for A[orist]S[tem] or P[resent]S[tem] having been chosen.'; rather '1. PS is crucially associated with the presentation of introductory, backgrounded or otherwise subsidiary material, and, 2. backgrounded clauses more often than not refer to durative situations, which, *by definition*, will be going on at the moment the event referred to by the main verb occurs.' As to *h.l.* (p. 18) 'The ἐλπίζων-clause owes its relevance to what comes next: it informs the reader about Artabanus' motive for yielding to Xerxes.' Cf. his discussion of the ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας-instances in H. *ibidem* pp. 58–65.

[2] P. 81.

[3] Powell s.v. III.

[4] P. 38.

[5] And as it follows ἱζομένην at 1.199.1 and ἱζόμενος at 3.64.1, the infinitive ἵζεσθαι at 16.1 above, and finite forms of the verb at 3.140.1 ἵζετο and at 15.3 above ἵζοιο.

[6] As it precedes ἱζόμενος in 3.30.2.

(with ἐπί + dat.)[1] and ἵζετο **dP** at 4.165.3. In all there is little to choose between the alternatives; it is hardly safe to argue from 15.3 above ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο, where MSS. are unanimous, to *h.l.*, since there could be a difference in treatment between prospect and retrospect, and between direct speech and narrative—in addition to, and perhaps accounting for, the obvious differences in syntactic surface structure.[2]

κοῖτον '*rest, sleep*': the only other instance of the noun in H. occurs in the context of an instance of the related verb (5 x): 1.9.2 ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγμένης θύρης στήσω, μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. That context, as well as *h.l.*, the application of the verb to sleeping *with* someone at 3.68.3 παρ' ὅτεῳ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῷτο, εἴτε μετὰ κτλ, resumed in 4 ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ, and such Homeric instances as ξ 455–6 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κοῖτον | σίτου καὶ κρειῶν κεκορημένοι ἐσσεύοντο & 524–5 οὐδὲ συβώτῃ | ἥνδανεν αὐτόθι κοῖτος ὑῶν ἄπο κοιμηθῆναι, all suggest that the primary reference is less to the state of being asleep than to the place or time for a rest or the position of someone resting.

κατυπνωμένῳ . . . τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον '*having fallen asleep . . . the same dream*' just as it had occurred to Xerxes in 14 (τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον . . . κατυπνωμένῳ), and as Xerxes proposed to Artabanus at 15.3 above (τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον . . . εἰ . . . κατυπνώσειας).

ἐφοίτα '*paid (a) visit(s), came to visit*': cf., in Xerxes' report at 15.2 above, where see note s.v.,[3] ἐπιφοιτῶν, quoted in Artabanus' speech at 16 β 1 ἐπιφοιτᾶν.

ὑπερστάν '*having stood, placed itself above* or *over*', in H. here alone: another technical term of dream description,[4] cf. the co-referential ἐπιστάν(τα) above at 12.1, where see note s.v.,[5] & 14.

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[1] Contrast, with ἐπί + acc., 2.55.2, 6.108.4; cf. 5.71.1 ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα.

[2] C.J. Ruijgh prefers to see in ἵζειν, ἵζεσθαι ἐς θρόνον with a prince or ruler as subject an idiomatic expression for 'being seated on a throne', i.e. *qualitate qua*; he compares 5.25.1 (ἵζων Cambyses), 3.30.2 (ἱζόμενος Smerdis), 7.44 & 100.2 (ἵζετο both Xerxes). For the etymology of ἕζομαι (**sed-*) as against ἵζομαι (**si-sd-o*) cf. CHANTRAINE s.v. ἕζομαι.

[3] Pp. 209–10.

[4] In Homer e.g. **B** 20, 59; of the ψυχή of Patroclus Ψ 68, of Hermes Ω 682, of an εἴδωλον sent by Athena to Penelope δ 803, of Athena herself ζ 21 and υ 32. Of a plain mortal ψ 4.

[5] Pp. 180–1.

τάδε '*the following (words)*': the reading of **d**, whereas **a** has ἆρα and P has both. In the absence of good reasons, whether palaeographical or syntactic, for the disappearance of either word, it seems more probable that P represents a correction than that it alone preserves what H. wrote. If so LEGRAND's ἄρα τάδε is condemned as well.[1] The two instances of interrogative ἆρα in H., at 3.50.3 ἆρα ἴστε ὦ παῖδες ὃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε; and 9.27.6 ἆρ' οὐ δίκαιοί εἱμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; hardly confirm the appropriateness of the particle to the present message.[2] STEIN's proposal to interpret this reading as ἄρα is not much more convincing in this context, in which it would detract from the force released by the dream on Artabanus' head,[3] and in particular from the contrast between Artabanus' expectations (ἐλπίζων . . . οὐδέν) and actual events. Cf. VAN OPHUIJSEN 1993, pp. 125–6.

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[1] Notwithstanding the parallel of 9.9.1 quoted note 3 below.

[2] It may be granted that, in MACAN's words, σὺ δή is 'simpler and grander', but the objection against ἆρα σὺ δή is not so much that it is 'superfluously strong and overexcited for the supernatural vision' as that it treats the matter as a genuine question at all.

[3] It is not, *pace* MACAN, justified by the parallels supplied by STEIN from 1.141.2 (1 ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν δοκέοντά σφεας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· (2) ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον . . .) ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς κτλ, 4.134.1 εἴρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος . . . πυθόμενος δέ . . . εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τούς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν κτλ, and 9.9.1 Χίλεος . . . τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο . . . ἀκούσας δὲ [ταῦτα] ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε—cf. LEGRAND's conjecture *h.l.*

17.2

'Σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεαι ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι, Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται.'

1 δὴ] δ' C | ἐκεῖνος **d**C 3 δὲ] δὴ D 4 παθέειν **a**P

'So you really are that man who urges Xerxes away from making an expedition to Greece, as apparently being concerned for him? Let me tell you that you will not escape scot-free, either as for later or as to what is at hand now, while you are turning away what is necessarily bound to take place. And as for Xerxes, what he has to undergo if he will not listen has been made plain to him in person.'

σὺ δή '*(So) you really*': for the particle cf. above, 12.2 & 14 with notes s.v. δή and καὶ δή respectively;[1] for the collocation with the pronoun cf. 1.115.2 σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας κτλ: though not an argument, still very much *ad hominem.*

κεῖνος εἷς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων '*are that man who urges . . . away from*': as for its cognitive meaning the present expression, compared to mere ἀποσπεύδει, makes explicit that the speaker was aware that *someone* was engaged in ἀποσπεύδειν. Rhetorically this makes it more marked and pointed, more or less in the way that συνέπαινον ἐόν of **d** makes for a stronger statement than συνεπαινέον of ABP at 15.2 above, where see note s.v.[2]

ἀποσπεύδων '*urging—, who urges . . . away from*': there are two more instances of the verb in H., at 18.4 below, *opp.* ἐπισπεύδων, and 6.109.6, where Miltiades refers to the choice whether to συμβαλεῖν or not to συμβαλεῖν in the words ἢν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ and ἢν δὲ ⟨τὴν⟩ τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἕλῃ respectively. The construction with a direct accusative object and an infinitive complement without μή is not paralleled either in these contexts or in the only instance in Thuc. at 6.29.3.

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[1] Pp. 183 & 198 respectively.
[2] P. 210.

ὡς δή '*as apparently*': to state that ὡς 'as if' is 'strengthened'[1] with δή is merely uninformative, to say that it is 'oft ironisch'[2] would be misleading if the dream were taken to imply that Artabanus' display of concern is not sincere, in the way that Maeandrius' pretence at 3.143.1 in μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων is not; what is implied is that there is some *discrepancy* between the content of the participle and the facts of the case: at 1.66.3 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας between a victory expected by the Spartans themselves and the defeat actually awaiting them,[3] at 9.59.1 ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων between what Mardonius thought the Athenians were doing and what they were in fact doing; and *h.l.* the point is that the action expressed in the main verb is just not adequate to the disposition expressed in the participle.[4]

It happens that the three instances in H. of δῆθεν with ὡς all conform to that use of δή with ὡς in which it marks a *pretence* of the *subject*: 6.1.1 ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος & 39.1 Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος . . . ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἵ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐποίευν εὖ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ [Κίμωνος] τὸν θάνατον, and 8.5.1 Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς, but this does not extend to all its uses in other authors.

κηδόμενος '*caring—, concerned about*' in H. has a personal object: 1.209.4 ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, 3.40.2 καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι, 6.61.1 Αἰγινητέων, 8.118.3 βασιλέος—or a virtually personal one: 9.45.1 συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. For the alleged[5] exception see next note.

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[1] POWELL s.v. D 3.

[2] KG II 130, cf. LSJ s.vv. δή II.1 & δῆθεν I.2.

[3] Similarly 7.211.1 οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήισαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι . . . ἐπήισαν . . . ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι, where the second οὗτοι strengthens the impression created by the balance between ὑπεξήισαν (with μέν) and ἐπήισαν (with δέ) that κατεργάσεσθαι is the expectation not just of the 'Immortal' Persian élite but of the Medes who make way for them, indeed of everyone on their side.

[4] Cf. WAKKER 1997, p. 245, who says about *h.l.* 'the tone is contemptuous and indignant, the dream (who is the speaker here) having in fact his doubts about Artabanos's intentions, i.e., his being really concerned about the king.'

[5] Implicitly, by POWELL s.v.

αὐτοῦ '(about) *(the man) him(self)*' or '(about) *it*', '(about) *(just) that*', as we might say "*that* (was your concern)"? A complement '(concerned) that this should not happen' (τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην) is conceivable, cf. 7.220.1 λέγεται δὲ ⟨καὶ⟩ ὡς αὐτός σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος—though even this, in view of word order and in the light of H.' general use of κήδεσθαι documented in the preceding note, is perhaps more adequately read as 'sent them off, (in order, hoping) that they might not be killed, being concerned about them'. For the possibility of a neuter αὐτό used substantively cf. ἐν αὐτοῖσι at 8 γ 1 above with note s.v. αὐτοῖσι,[1] and 8.60 β. Even so, with this reference αὐτοῦ τούτου would perhaps be more likely, cf. 10 η 1 above Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν with notes s.vv. αὐτόν and αὐτοῦ τούτου respectively.[2] In the present context, however, (1) no referring expression at all would have been needed to convey this sense (or rather reference), which moreover (2) would leave the participle adjunct as a whole relatively void of purpose.

ἀλλ' . . . '*Let me tell you that* . . .': for an analysis of this instance of ἀλλά (POWELL s.v. II 'without preceding neg. only where δέ was inadmissible', 4) in terms of 'denial of expectation' cf. SLINGS 1997, p. 112: 'Artabanus' attempt to dissuade Xerxes is contrasted with his failure as predicted by the dream.'[3]

ἐς '*(as) for, as to*': the temporal use of the preposition seems to have widened along with other metaphorical or, more neutrally, non-spatial uses to include a domain *within* which, or an 'extent' *to* or *over* which, what is being said applies. The more exact specification of the temporal relations involved seems to be a product of (1) the use (as opposed to the absence) of the preposition and (2) context and

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[1] P. 36.
[2] P. 130; more instances of αὐτὸ τοῦτο are listed by POWELL s.v. αὐτός A I 2.c.
[3] Cf. p. 111: '. . . denial of expectation, the other major class of adversative contexts. . . . in all of them an effort to achieve something is described . . . [and] failure to achieve it . . .' and p. 112: 'My explanation is that we observe here a gradual encroaching of ἀλλά on the denial-of-expectation area, in other words, of ἀλλά trying to "replace" μέντοι, in the type of context which is perhaps most prototypically one in which an expectation is denied.' SLINGS cites as another instance 9.109.3 Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι . . . ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος.

situation. *H.l.* without the preposition the purport might be that the effort denounced will not go unpunished whether it, i.e. the *effort*, is made now or in the future; with the preposition it is, strictly speaking, that the *punishment* for a continued effort will be both immediate and lasting.—Cf. on 8 δ 1 s.v.[1]

τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν 'what is *at hand now*, what will come *presently*': not pleonastic, but as distinct e.g. from what was τὸ παραυτίκα 'at hand' at a moment in the past, as at 15.1 above in τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον, where see note s.v. τὸ παραυτίκα.[2]

καταπροΐξεαι '*you will* ... *get off, escape scot-free*': in H. also at 3.36.6 in the syntactic zeugma (Καμβύσης ... ἔφη ...) ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν and, with participle as *h.l.*, at 3.156.3 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος καταπροΐξεται and 5.105.1 οὐ καταπροΐξονται ἀποστάντες. The derivation from προίσσομαι (cf. προίκτης) preserved in *Suda* and *Etym. Magn.* is accepted by FRISK s.v. προίξ; modified by CHANTRAINE s.v. προίξ: 'expression ... d'origine différente, issue de προῖκα'; and questioned by LSJ: 'but perh. rather from κατα-προ-ϊκνέομαι'. Even harder to establish is with which of these words, if any, it was associated by H. and the other authors who used it in the pre-grammatical (Archilochus) and proto-grammatical (Aristophanes) times.

ἀποτρέπων '*turning off*, i.e.—*away* (from the object it is heading for)', as distinct from παρατρέψαι '*turn aside*' in 16 γ 3 above, where see note s.v.[3] The present stem should not be interpreted as intrinsically 'conative', but as neutral between a successful and a frustrated effort: it is the context which makes it clear that the present effort can never be successful, and the point here is that it is not therefore any less culpable. By contrast in 16 γ 3 it was that, παρατρέπειν as one may, it might prove impossible to παρατρέψαι. Similarly at 3.65.3 in ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίῃ φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν the claim obviously is not that the *attempt* was not in human nature, since Cambyses is just explaining that he has been making this attempt: it is that the undertaking as a whole is fruitless, whereas at 9.16.4 in ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον

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[1] Pp. 44–5.
[2] P. 204.
[3] P. 259.

ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ it is once again that, ἀποτρέπειν as one may, there is no chance of ἀποτρέψαι.[1]

The other objects of the verb in H. are 1.105.1 σφεας... τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι & 207.1 τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ, and 8.29.2 (ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα) τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην (ἀποτρέψειν).

(τὸ) **χρεόν** '(that) *(which is) (necessarily) bound to happen*': also 13.2; cf. on 11.2 above s.v. χρή.[2]

Ξέρξην '*(and as for) Xerxes, (what)* he': the new topic at the head of the phrase and clause.

(Ξέρξην) **δεῖ** (παθεῖν) 'it is *incumbent* (upon Xerxes to undergo)', '(Xerxes) is *required*—,—*obliged*—,—*due*—, *has* to (undergo)': likewise in one context with a form derived from χρή above at 8 δ 1 ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι with note s.v. χρήσει[3] & 9 β 2 τοὺς χρῆν... κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένοις καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφοράς... εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν... ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἑκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι κτλ. In both of these instances it is possible to suppose that δεῖν[4] signifies what is *required* by some outward agency or point of reference and χρή with its derivatives a more unconditional and absolute obligation and necessity. This supposition is compatible with the well-known idiomatic use of δεῖν found at 10 γ 1 ὀλίγου ἐδέησε with note s.v.[5] and with the uses at 10 α 1 in μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι 'the situation leaves one no choice but to...' & θ 1 (η 1 ἐπαίρεις... στρατεύεσθαι... μή νυν οὕτω γένηται...) ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι 'if it is absolutely required that we should...'.[6] *H.l.* the contextual difference which determines or at least explains the choice of χρεόν and of δεῖ respectively seems to be the presence

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[1] On 3.65.3 & 9.16.4 cf. Stork 1982, pp. 79–80.
[2] Pp. 161–2.
[3] P. 45.
[4] Or δέειν with **a**P at 8.62.2.
[5] P. 99.
[6] As well as with Schaefer's conjecture at 16 γ 3 in εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμέ (ἀλλ' ἢ ἐμὲ **a**: ἀλλ' ἵημι **d**P) ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι.

of the *condition* ἀνηκουστέοντα with the latter, as opposed to the unconditional and inevitable character of τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι.

ἀνηκουστέοντα '*not being such as to listen, not listening*', in H. also 1.115.3 οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην and, with a dative object or complement, 6.14.2 (ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος . . . πλὴν ἕνδεκα νεῶν.) τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι.

Fifth speech of Xerxes (18)

18.1

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρῴσκει καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε·

1 τε **d**: δὴ **a**: τε suprascr. δὴ P | ὁ Ἀρτάβανος **d** | τὸν **d**P^{c} 2 σιδηρείοισι **a** 3 ἀναθρῴσκει A^{2}**d**P: ἀνθρῴσκει A^{1}BC 4 διῆλθεν C

These, then, were the threats Artabanus had the impression that the dream uttered, and at the same time (he had the impression) that it was on the point of burning out the eyes in his face with hot irons; and he with a loud outcry springs to his feet and, seating himself next to Xerxes, as he has completed the story of his dream vision speaks to him a second time in the following words: . . .

τε . . . καί . . . '*. . . and . . .*', '*. . . as well as . . .*', '*. . . and at the same time . . .*': the full account of the dream comprises its words and its actions, even though its words have taken precedence—presumably because (1) the action is to be interpreted in the light of the utterance and because (2) we are to imagine Artabanus as startled by the terror of being about to have his eyes burnt out. The alternative of coordinating τε with the second καί which follows before ὅς is faced with the objection that it would tend to make Artabanus rather than the dream the topic of the sentence or clause running from ταῦτα to ὀφθαλμούς. Contrast 8.56 νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἳ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας[1] and cf. s.v. ὅς below. For τε . . . καί . . . cf. on 5.2 above s.v.[2]

δή '*. . ., then, . . .*' with the demonstrative ταῦτα marks the first half of the clause as a summary. Cf. on 8 β 1 above s.v.[3]

θερμοῖσι . . . ὀφθαλμούς '*that it was going to burn out his eyes with hot irons*': the word order in the Greek, 'with hot irons | (to) burn out | his | to be going to | eyes', suggestively puts the would-be *corpus*

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[1] Similarly 7.217.1 ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἳ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρεος and 8.83.1 ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἳ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης. τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κτλ.

[2] P. 7.

[3] P. 28.

delicti and the name of the action before the auxiliary indicating that the dream is as yet only *offering* to perform it.—On μέλλειν with present infinitive cf. 10 α 3 above s.v. μέλλεις.[1]

σιδηρίοισι '*irons*': one in each hand and for each eye?—H.&W. refer to Jer. 39.7 & 52.11 and to Xen. *An.* 1.9.13 for the custom.

αὐτοῦ '*his*': on αὐτοῦ cf. Powell 1933, p. 219.

καί '*and*' often serves to articulate a narrative by marking the response of one party to a previous occurrence, e.g. a move made by some other party. For the same use in Attic see Sicking 1993, pp. 14–17.[2]

ὅς '*he*': the use of the 'substantive' pronoun is explained by the fact that, while the grammatical subject remains the same,[3] the topic does not.[4]

ἀμβώσας μέγα '*with a loud outcry*': the verb in H. (8 x) always[5] in the aorist, which *h.l.* may be interpreted as claiming the attention which is due to a stage in the narrative in its own right as opposed to an accompaniment to some (other) action, here that of ἀναθρῴσκειν,[6] an effect which is even more pronounced where the finite verb is

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[1] P. 83.

[2] According to C.J. Ruijgh as sentence connector καί here has the connotation 'and right away'.

[3] As it does not at 9.18.1 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπείτε σφέας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε καὶ οἳ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν κτλ and 8.87.2 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἣ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ, διωκομένη γὰρ κτλ. But even here the anacolouthon confirms, as does the even more abrupt one at 8.83.1 quoted n. 1 p. 271 above, that the substantive use of the pronoun has regard to topic-and-comment organization rather than to formal syntax.

[4] Powell s.v. ὅς under A lists eight instances of the nominative used as a 'demonstrative' pronoun, five of which have been quoted in the notes, or in footnotes to the notes, on the present sixth one, either *h.l.* or s.v. τε . . . καί above. The seventh and eighth are at 4.68.1 λέγουσι . . . ὡς τὰς βασιληίας ἱστίας ἐπιώρκηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ λέγωσι.

[5] At 3.14.3 ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον all MSS. but E have ἀνεβόων. The choice is complicated by the fact that CP read ἀνέκλαιον, and by 14.7 ἀνακλαύσας & 9 ἀνέκλαυσας (where all MSS. but E have ἀπέκλαυσας), quoted n. 1 below.

[6] For other instances of what Hettrich 1976 p. 81 calls 'inverse Modalitätsfälle' ('Die Handlung selbst steht im Ptzp., das ÜbV gibt gewisse Modalitäten dieser Handlung an (Modalitätsfall). Die umgekehrte Verteilung kommt, wenn auch selten, ebenfalls vor (Handlung im ÜbV, Modalität in Ptzp.) . . . (inverser Modalitätsfall).' p. 77), see *ibidem* p. 119.

used at 3.155.1 in a comparable situation: Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἴρετό μιν ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενός τε καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσαντα. With μέγα also 1.8.3 ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας εἶπε and 3.38.4 οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα.[1] As with English 'outcry' the reference is not limited to inarticulate noise: at 9.28.1 it takes an accusative-cum-infinitive intensional object Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤ περ Ἀρκάδας.[2]

ἀναθρῴσκει '*springs up,—to his feet*': the other two instances in H. (3.64.2 & 3) are cited *ad* 15.1 above s.v. ἀνά . . . ἔδραμε.[3] For the so-called 'historical', perhaps more aptly 'narrative', present tense referring to past events see *ibidem* s.v. πέμπει.[4]

παριζόμενος '*seating himself—, sitting down* next to': the compound (8 x, four of them medium) raises the same problems as the simple verb, for which see on 17.1 s.v. ἱζόμενος.[5] Variation between -εζ- and -ιζ- is found at 5.18.4 in ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας (παρεζομένας **a**) ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν and 8.58.2 ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός (παρεζόμενός **a** P) οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε κτλ.[6] *H.l.* the participle coming just after ἀναθρῴσκει is most easily taken as referring to his next *movement* as 'sitting down, seating himself', but in relation to the main verb λέγει which it is formally in apposition to, it refers to Artabanus' *position* as 'having sat down, having seated himself; seated, sitting'.

τὴν ὄψιν . . . τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, literally 'the vision *of* the nightly (sc. phenomenon, appearance)', whether as '*consisting* of' or with *nomen actionis* and 'objective' genitive 'the (fact of) seeing the (nightly appearance)',

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[1] With the same adverbial internal accusative 3.14.7 ἀνακλαύσας (followed in 14.9 by οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀνέκλαυσας), 6.80 ἀναστενάξας (cf. B 784 μέγα στεναχίζετο), and 7.159 ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε (quoting H 125); the plural 2.121 δ 2 μεγάλα βοῶντα.

[2] Cf. 1.10.2 μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, a context which is complicated by the negation (implicitly contrasting with Gyges as ἀμβώσας at 1.8.3 quoted in the main text) and by the question whether the participle αἰσχυνθεῖσα comes within the scope of this negation, but which in any case involves a certain amount of deliberation and calculation.

[3] P. 203, footnote 7.

[4] On the 'historical' or 'narrative' present cf. most recently SICKING & STORK 1997.

[5] Pp. 262–3.

[6] The remaining instance is 9.94.1 κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο.

but each of the two words has earlier by itself denoted a dream: cf. on 16 β 1 s.vv. ὄνειρον ... ἐνύπνια ... ὄψιες & ὄνειρον ... ἐῶντά & β 2 above s.v. ὄψιες.[1]

διεξῆλθε (ἀπηγεόμενος), literally '*has gone through*(, telling)',[2] as at 1.24.5 τὸν δὲ (Arion) ... διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου κτλ and 3.75.1–2 ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην κτλ.[3]

δεύτερα strictly to be construed as '(speaks to him the following as the) *second, next* (thing/set of words he says to him)', but more informally to be understood as '*(a) second (time)*', as at 3.68.4 (3 πέμπων δὴ ὢν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο ... (4) ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη ...) ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων κτλ,[4] perhaps fading into a mere 'next'.[5] Cf. 8 β 3 above, where πρῶτα (rather than τὸ πρῶτον) ... δεύτερα ... primarily serves as a device for discourse organization, 'first (rather than 'at first') ..., secondly ...', though a temporal interpretation is not quite ruled out.

λέγει '*speaks*': cf. on 11.1 above s.v. Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε.[6]

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1 Pp. 237 & 240 respectively.

2 Cf. LSJ s.v. I.2 & 4; *pace* POWELL s.v. 3 ('repeat').

3 Similarly 1.116.5 ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήιε τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε κτλ.

4 *Iterum* ABICHT *h.l.* and 7.53.1 ταῦτα εἴπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους.

5 POWELL s.v. IV 3. a.

6 P. 151.

18.2

''Εγὼ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας.'

2 ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων πεσόντα πρήγματα C 3 μιμνησκόμενος **a** 4 καὶ om. R 5 τὸν] τοῦ D 4–5 ἐπ' . . . συστρατευόμενος δὲ] ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε R

'I, my Lord, as a man who has already seen many great powers felled by lesser ones, did not suffer you entirely to indulge your age, knowing that it is harmful to crave for abundance, mindful of the expedition of Cyrus to the Massagetes and how it fared, and also of that of Cambyses to the Ethiopians, and also being a participant in Dareius' expedition to the Scythians.'

(ἐγὼ) **μέν** '(*I*)' is answered in 18.3 by (ἐπεὶ) δέ, Artabanus' entire speech constituting one large period (18.2–3). The subject ἐγώ and predicate οὐκ ἔων σε . . . εἴκειν make up a kernel sentence which contains nothing new but could be said to state the *topic* of this first half of the major period. They are expanded by the predicative participle adjuncts οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν . . . ἡσσόνων and ἐπιστάμενος . . . ἐπιθυμέειν respectively. The latter of these is in turn expanded by three participle adjuncts coordinated by μέν and (2 x) δέ. It (or the resulting complex adjunct in its entirety) is then resumed in ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, and this is followed by a new independent clause γνώμην εἶχον . . . σε . . . ἀνθρώπων which is formally a counterpart to οὐκ ἔων σε . . . εἴκειν and in content applies the experience and insight detailed in the participle phrases to the case in hand, thereby providing the motivation for this role of Artabanus and the principal *comment* conveyed by this expanded μέν-clause or minor period. 'That I tried to keep you from indulging your young blood was because I judged you had best refrain from action, since I knew that greed is dangerous and harmful, as experience has taught others besides myself.'—Cf. on 18.3 below s.v. (ἐπεὶ) δέ.[1]

ὦ βασιλεῦ '*My Lord*': see on 10 α 1 & 16 α 1 above with notes s.v.[2]

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[1] P. 282.
[2] Pp. 78 & 218 respectively.

οἷα '*as (being)*', literally 'to the extent (internal, hence 'respective', hence 'adverbial' accusative) of *such* (things) *as*' combines, rather than distinguishes between, 'inasmuch as'[1] and 'like';[2] it is the *context* which, though it *need* not exclude one or the other—as witness 1.111.2 (1 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα.) ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἴρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μετεπέμψατο—yet *may* exclude one or the other. Thus at 1.96.2 in ὁ δὲ δὴ οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχὴν ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν the adjunct takes up ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος: here it is clear that the subject *is* in fact μνώμενος ἀρχήν, and οἷα conveys that he is acting the part; by contrast at 6.12.4 in πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε ἀλλ' οἷα στρατιὴ σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκιητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας the listener or reader is aware, and it seems integral to the pragmatic information, that the subject is *not* a στρατιὴ in the proper sense, that their place is on the ships they now refuse to man. Again at 8.128.2 in τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ the event is not compared *to*, but classed as an instance *of*, what happens in a war; here there is a negative motive for translating by 'as' or 'like' so as to avoid both the *limitative* and the *causal* connotations which cling to such phrases as 'to the extent that', 'inasmuch as', 'insomuch as,—that', '(in) so far as,—that' in English as in other modern languages, and which do not apply in this context, but abstracting from translation this use resembles that in contexts admitting a 'causal' interpretation quite as much as that in simile, and may in fact be regarded as underlying both of them.—Syntactically the nearest parallel for *h.l.* is 3.63.3, where οἷα in σὺ μὲν οἷα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας introduces a predicative adjunct which one might choose to describe either as (1) accompanied by or as (2) comprising a participle. *H.l.* the absence of such an adjectival qualification as ἀγαθός in 3.63.3 favours the second analysis,[3] and this may be taken as an argument for preferring it in 3.63.3 as well.[4]

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[1] Powell s.v. οἷος 5.a.

[2] Powell s.v. οἷος 5.b; both instances are quoted in the main text.

[3] Unless one prefers to take οἷα ἄνθρωπος as motivating and therefore subordinate to ἰδὼν . . . ἡσσόνων, an option not favoured by word order.

[4] The most common construction is (I) with a participle predicative adjunct to (a) the subject or (b) an object (e.g. 3.4.2 οἷα δὲ ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι

ἤδη '*already*' also above 9 α 2, where see note s.v.,[1] & 11.4 & 16 γ 2 & 3.

πολλά τε καί '*many*': the use of καί alone coordinating πολύς with another adjective is documented by DENNISTON p. 290; for τε καί with πολύς POWELL[2] gives nine instances, not including *h.l.*

πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων '*many great powers brought down by lesser ones*' generalises a point made by Artabanus earlier in the words οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε at 10 ε above, where it was embedded in a context of metaphysical motivation, coming between φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν and (. . .) οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. Within the general theme of (1) the vicissitude of human fortune which is a preoccupation of H. expressed in his programmatic chapter 1.5.4 τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα πρότερον ἦν σμικρά[3] it is possible to distinguish between (2) the staging of the reversal of fortune described in the context quoted above at 10 ε in the words ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν, and (3) the inherent unviability of a force that has overgrown itself, explained by Artabanus in 7.49 and summed up in 8.16.2 quoted in the next note.[4]

λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἄμασις σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἑλεῖν); other constructions are (II) with an absolute genitive participle 1.61.1 οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων & 189.4 οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, where the hearer or listener has been informed previously that Cyrus' entire army is being employed, and 2.28.5 οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν δίνας τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι, (III) with a sequence of absolute and predicative participle 2.175.5 τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἑλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ and 6.46.2 οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι οἷα ὑπὸ Ἱστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρήμασι κτλ, and (IV) without any participle 1.66.1 οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀνά τε ἔδραμον κτλ, 3.78.4 ἠπόρεε οἷα ἐν σκότεϊ. It may be noted that POWELL s.v. 5.a (with LSJ s.v. οἷος V.2.a) marks 2.175.5 as one of two instances of οἷά τε, the other being 5.11.2 ὁ δὲ Κώης οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε (δέ BEKKER) ἐών αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεῦσαι.

[1] P. 60.

[2] S.v. καί A III.1.

[3] Cited by MACAN.

[4] On the positioning of 'quantifying' adjectives such as μέγας see DIK 1997, pp. 69–72: 'Herodotus' use of μέγας shows a general preference for postposing . . .'

πεσόντα ὑπὸ '*brought down,—low by*' construed like a passive verb as at 8.16.2 ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε and 9.67 τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, and so with a compound and a different preposition 6.106.2 πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δουλοσύνῃ περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων.[1]

πρήγματα '*powers*': see on 10 γ 2 above s.v., esp. under (3).[2] An idiomatic use peculiar to the plural is that of referring to (a single) political or military power; in this context, as is shown by πολλά, it exceptionally must serve to denote a plurality of these.

οὐκ ἔων '*I did, would not suffer you to*': cf. on 10 ε above s.v. οὐδὲ ἐᾷ.[3]

τὰ πάντα '*entirely, in all things, in every respect*': a common adverbial adjunct, cf. POWELL s.v. πᾶς B 1; still it may not be entirely fanciful, recalling 10 γ 2 ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι and comparing 3.36.1 (Croesus to Cambyses) ὦ βασιλεῦ μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ[4] ἐπίτρεπε,[5] to catch a hint that Artabanus does not want *everything, the entire situation* to depend on one youthful and irresponsible temper.

τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν '*give in to—, indulge your age*': cf. 3.36.1 quoted in the preceding note. Contrast 5.19.1, where the same verb as *h.l.* is used in a positive injunction σὺ μὲν ὦ πάτερ εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιών τε ἀναπαύεο μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι: though youth provides no excuse for doing what should not be done, age does provide one for leaving to others some things that should be done.

ἐπιστάμενος ὡς '*knowing that*': cf. ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι in 11.2 above and note s.v.[6]

(p. 69); 'However, the group of nouns that most frequently has μέγας preposed are those referring to central concepts of the narrative, such as ἔργα . . . πρήγματα . . ., or the activity of the historian himself, e.g., τεκμήριον . . . I would argue that the large proportion of preposed μέγας with precisely these words is a reflection of their importance.' (p. 72).

[1] Quoted by KG I 98–9.

[2] Pp. 104–5.

[3] P. 116.

[4] This second complement is combined with the verb found *h.l.* at I 109–10 (Nestor to Agamemnon) in σὺ δὲ σῷ μεγαλήτορι θυμῷ | εἴξας.

[5] Where the sequel is also relevant: ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τοι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθίη.

[6] P. 157.

ὡς κακὸν εἴη '*that it... is harmful, that it is a pernicious thing to...*': cf., with an infinitive without the article, 16 α 2 above (γνωμέων ... τῆς δὲ ...) λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος. The 'oblique' optative does not lift the proposition outside the scope of the governing verb, notwithstanding the fact that both in 16 α 2 and *h.l.* the speaker subscribes to it. There it would be irrelevant to obtrude his conviction at that particular point, where the issue is Xerxes' freedom to choose what is most beneficient; here it is implicit in the sense of the governing verb ἐπιστάμενος.—Instances of the infinitive with the article are listed by STORK 1982, p. 399 n. 35.

μέν ... δὲ καί ... δὲ καί '*(remembering) ... and (remembering) also ... and also (taking part in Dareius' expedition..)*': the translation brings out a discrepancy between the syntax of καί in the second and that in the third member, where it occupies corresponding places, but in the one serves to include a new object under the same, or more precisely a repeated predicate μεμνημένος, and in the other to include a new predicate συστρατευόμενος under the higher-order predicate ἐπιστάμενος. This anomaly is the more easily passed over as an impression of similarity between three members both in form and in topic and general content is created by (1) the repetition of μεμνημένος,[1] (2) the successive adjuncts ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας, and ἐπὶ Σκύθας, and (3) the mention of the three successive kings, albeit in different syntactic roles.

ὡς ἔπρηξε '*how it fared*': cf., in the context of the second expedition here mentioned, 3.26.1 ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὕτως ἔπρηξε. Contrast the aorist *h.l.*, where the focus is on the question how the expedition fared and where it ended, with the present optative πρήσσοις in 5.2 above.[2]

συστρατευόμενος '*taking part in the expedition together with...*', '*accompanying, joining... in the expedition*': by using the present tense form Artabanus perhaps represents himself to Xerxes as a participant, and his knowledge as coextensive with his prolonged awareness as an eye-witness, rather than as the residue of his experience. Contrast

[1] Cf. BECK 1971, p. 18: 'Die Ansätze der Ritornellkomposition liegen in anaphorisch gegliederten Sätzen. Das wiederholte Wort stellt dabei zwischen den parataktisch aneinandergefügten Sätzen einen inneren Zusammenhang her.' She lists instances of 'zweigliedriges verbales Anaphoron' in note 53 p. 103.

[2] Where see note s.v. p. 4.

7.52.1 (now Xerxes to Artabanus, but referring to the same occasion) of the Ionians τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας. Instances of what he calls 'ungenaues' present are collected by Stein *ad* 1.9.2 ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω and 2.41.4 θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνῄσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε & 69.2 ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες (**a**: ταριχεύσαντες θάπτουσι rell.) ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκῃσι. These three at least are quite different from *h.l.* in that they refer to repeated and habitual behaviour.—It is indirectly confirmed by Artabanus' warnings to Dareius, reported at 4.83.1 in (the first mention of him) Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου ἐχρήιζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην and recalled at 10 α 2, that his awareness of danger predated this expedition.—Cf. on 8 γ 1 above s.v. στρατεύεσθαι.[1]

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[1] P. 36.

18.3

'ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, φθορή τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήνω ποίεε δὲ οὕτως ὅκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν.'

3 ἔοικε L | καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ **a** 3–4 τράπωμαι TD[2] 4 καὶ . . . μετατίθεμαι om. D | σὺ σήμηνον Πέρσῃσι C | σὺ μὲν σήμηνον Πέρσῃσι D 5 πεποιημένα C 5–6 πεμπόμενα . . . θεοῦ om. R 5 χρῆσθαι **Pd**[R] | σεῦ **d**[R] 5–6 εἰρημένοισιν C 7 ἐνδεήσῃ **a**[V]

'From a knowledge of these things, I held the view that if you kept still you were (to be) blessed by all men, but since a heaven-sent impulse is coming about and it looks like a destruction propelled by the gods is overtaking the Greeks, I myself too make a volte-face and change my view, and do you signify to the Persians what is despatched by the god, tell (them) to abide by what you first proclaimed touching their preparation, and act in such a way that, God permitting, what is yours will not be found wanting in anything.'

ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα '*knowing that*': the repetition of the participle ensures that ταῦτα is primarily ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, but the plural makes it easier to generalize the reference to such propositions, implied in the context, as 'that superior forces are often overthrown by inferior ones' and 'what is the outcome of imperialistic expeditions'.

γνώμην '*insight, view, opinion, conviction*': cf. 8.1 & δ 2 with note,[1] 9 γ, 10.1 & α 1 & γ 2, 12.1, 13.2, 16 α 2 & γ 3 and note on 10 θ 3 s.v. γνόντα.[2]

εἶχον '*I entertained—,—held/had the—, it was my . . .*': i.e. until now, as the sequel makes explicit in τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, and as is indeed implied in the present tense form of ἐπεὶ . . . γίνεται . . . καὶ . . . καταλαμβάνει.

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[1] P. 49.
[2] Pp. 148–50.

ἀτρεμίζοντα '(by) *not moving* (, if you did not move), by *staying still,*— where and as you are (, if you stayed still,—where and as you are)': see on 8 α 1 above s.v. ἠτρεμίσαμεν.[1]

μακαριστόν . . . πρός + gen. '*blessed*, (such as to be) *called happy by*': while the verb is found in three more contexts in H., one of them again presenting words of Artabanus spoken *to* and *of* Xerxes,[2] the adjectival form occurs here alone. This verbal adjective form in general does not distinguish between being *liable* to be subject to some action and being *actually* subject to it; this particular adjective moreover, like English 'blessed', does not distinguish between being *called* happy and *being* happy.[3]

(ἐπεὶ) **δέ** answers (ἐγὼ) μέν in 18.2, on which see note.[4] The new minor period again displays an elaborate architectural design, with *two* more μέν and δέ divisions, now in the main clause, each at a lower level than the last, the first of them varied by a change from indicative (. . . μετατίθεμαι) to imperative (σήμηνον).[5] The μέν-component in its turn is articulated, though not by μέν and δέ, into two predicates (τράπομαι and μετατίθεμαι), and the subordinate clause which comes first is a compound in its own right, of two sets of subject and predicate, the first (in δαιμονίη ὁρμή) expanded by the second (in θεήλατος) and with an interjection-like ὡς οἶκε as a minimal clause depending on it. The *Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder* is obeyed in all these constituents.[6]

δαιμονίη '*heaven-sent*', provided that this should *not* be taken to connote a favourable character; induced by τὸ δαιμόνιον as mentioned at 2.120.5 in τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος ὅκως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι ὡς τῶν μεγάλων

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[1] Pp. 15–16.

[2] At 7.45 ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε and 46.1 (Artabanus to Xerxes) μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις. The other two are 1.31.3, with first a quality, then a person as accusative object in Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν οἵων τέκνων ἐκύρησε, and 9.93.4 δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

[3] On πρός + gen. in this type of context cf. KG I 516–17.

[4] P. 275.

[5] On the (interpretation of the) ἐπεί-clause cf. Rijksbaron 1976, p. 184 note 32, who points out that D reads τράπωμαι instead of τράπομαι and omits καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι.

[6] Between χρᾶσθαι . . . παρασκευήν and ποίεε . . . μηδέν the increase is not so much in the number of φωναί as in syntactic complexity.

ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, 5.87.2 Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου, and 6.84.1 Ἀργεῖοι μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα (for treacherously killing a number of them, including a priest, and desecrating and burning their holy sanctuary) Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆταί φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. These contexts are compatible with the notion, based on etymology,[1] that δαίμων and δαιμόνιος denote the divine as a 'dispenser', i.e. as an agency in relation to human affairs, an aspect here made expressly operative by ὁρμή.—The remaining three instances of the adjective are of the familiar idiomatic address: δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν 4.126 (Dareius to Idanthyrsus, king of Scythians) and 7.48 (Xerxes to Artabanus), ὦ δαιμόνιοι 8.84.2 (the φάσμα γυναικός to the allied Greek forces).

γίνεται '*is manifesting itself*': the present tense represents the divine impetus as *actual*; this is appropriate in view of the fact (a *sufficient* condition) that Artabanus is commenting on its latest manifestation, but the present tense would presumably continue to apply as long as the Persians had not made up their minds how to respond to it (the *necessary* condition). Cf. γίνεται in 11.4 above with note s.v.[2]

ὁρμή '*impulse, impetus*': the other instance in H. is at 1.11.5 (Candaules' then wife to Gyges) ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν, where the sequel ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται does not force us to accept that ὁρμή is equivalent to ἐπιχείρησις in *sense* as it is in *reference*. 'Our point of *departure* will be the same spot from which he . . .', a use of the noun which may be said to relate to the middle voice of the verb just as that *h.l.*[3] does to the active use of the verb at 4.159.2 in Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην and 8.106.1 ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὅρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι.

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[1] But apparently confirmed by such a usage as 1.111.1 τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν.

[2] P. 170.

[3] Similarly e.g. K 123 ἀλλ' ἐμέ τ' εἰσορόων καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενος ὁρμήν (and so β 403) and Pl. *Phdr.* 279 A 8–9 (5 οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο θαυμαστὸν . . . εἰ . . .) ἐπὶ μείζω δέ τις αὐτὸν (Isocrates) ἄγοι ὁρμὴ θειοτέρα.

φθορή '*destruction, ruin*': the other instance in H. is at 2.161.4 in Αἰγύπτιοι . . . δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακὸν ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται. Note the use of διαφθείρεται & δι' . . . ἐφθάρησαν by the same Artabanus in 10 ε above.

καταλαμβάνει '*is overtaking, seizing*': see above on 9 β 2 s.v. καταλαμβάνειν & 10 γ 1 s.v. καταλαβεῖν.[1] The present tense applies from the first divine prompting until the destruction is complete.

θεήλατος '*propelled by* (a, the) *god*(s)' here alone in H.; in tragedy usually, as the component ἐλαύνειν would lead one to expect, of unwelcome objects (e.g. Soph. *O.T.* 992 μάντευμα δεινόν, fr. 680,3 *TrGF* Radt νόσους, Eur. *Cr.* 30 πληγὴν δαίμονος,[2] *Andr.* 851 συμφοραί), but not always simply and straightforwardly so, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1297–8 θεηλάτου | βοὸς δίκην, Soph. *O.T.* 255 τὸ πρᾶγμα sc. 258 ἐξερευνᾶν as opposed to 256 ἀκάθαρτον ἐᾶν, and Eur. *Ion* 1306 ἔκλειπε βωμὸν καὶ θεηλάτους ἕδρας, contexts in which the most that one can claim is a connection or association with what is unwelcome to someone.— Cf. θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει in 8 α 1 above.

τράπομαι '*change direction,—my course*' in the absence of any qualifications may be given a strong interpretation such as applies to the present context: '*reverse* my direction, *make volte-face*'. Cf. 15.2 above with note s.v. τετραμμένῳ.[3]

(σήμηνον) μέν . . . (χρᾶσθαι) δὲ (κέλευε) . . . (ποίεε) δέ '(signify) . . ., (tell) . . ., *and* (act) . . .': Artabanus' instruction is presented as comprising three members. On these no relationship is expressly imposed. The present tense imperatives[4] coming after the aorist imperative[5] may strengthen the suggestion inherent in content as well as order, that Xerxes must begin by recounting what has occurred as a preliminary to reverting to his former instruction (and to seeing it obeyed,

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[1] Pp. 67 & 100 respectively.
[2] D.L. Page, *Select Papyri* III, p. 76.
[3] P. 208.
[4] Contrast ποίησον at 9.78.2 in (Lampon to Pausanias) σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ποίησον ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων κτλ, as well as at 1.89.2 & 112.2 (ὧδε) and 3.40.3 (τοιάδε) & 69.3 (τάδε).
[5] Also found 8.79.4 ἀλλ' ἐσελθών σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον & 80.2 ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει.

and exerting himself on his part),[1] but they are sufficiently accounted for by the observation that the imperative in the first member is more focal than its object, which is the topic underlying the entire speech, whereas the imperatives in the second and third members are less focal than χρᾶσθαι with its objects and οὕτως ὅκως with its complement, respectively.[2]

σήμηνον '*signify*', cf., of giving directions, above 8 δ 1 with note s.v. σημήνω.[3]

τὰ (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα) '*the things*—or *what is* sent by (the) god' does not differentiate between the dream or dreams and what they communicate.

χρᾶσθαι '*avail themselves of*'; '*keep to, abide by*'; in the present context this works out as '*act on*', a connotation which is included in τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι sc. γνώμῃ at 10 α 1 and συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ at 13.2 above, where the γνώμη which provides the object is that of somebody else, but less conspicuously in εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλέες γνώμῃσι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σὺ ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμῃσι τοιαύτῃσι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους at 7.50.3 and in (μέχρι δὲ τούτου) τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι (as opposed to εἰ . . . δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει . . . φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτός κτλ) at 16 γ 3 above, where it is contrasted with the advice of others and with data from outside respectively, and not at all in 2.123.1 τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι, ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα [τὸν] λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ'

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[1] This explanation is advocated by C.J. Ruijgh: according to him the sequence σήμηνον . . . χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε . . . ποίεε δὲ οὕτως may be compared to the sequence *πρῶτον μὲν σήμηνον . . ., ἔπειτα δὲ . . . κέλευε . . . ποίεε δὲ οὕτως, that is to say κέλευε has reference to the period of time during which the order obtains after it has been proclaimed (σήμηνον) and ποίεε is 'simultaneous' with κέλευε in the sense of '(tell them . . .) and in doing so act in such a way that'.

[2] For this explanation of the aspectual use of the imperative see SICKING 1991, who defines the use of both alternatives as follows: 'With reference to the imperative we may speak of focus function in proportion as a verb informs the person addressed as to *what* is expected of him or her' (p. 156) as against 'In particular, P[resent]S[tem] is the obvious choice for an imperative when there can be no doubt as to *what* action the person addressed is supposed to be taking—whether 1) because this action has been mentioned or implied earlier or 2) because he is already performing it—and the imperative serves to ask him or her either to continue or to stop doing so.' (p. 157); cf. also SICKING 1996, pp. 74–77.

[3] P. 44.

ἑκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω in a context of description rather than direction.—Cf. χρᾶσθαι in 16 α 1 above with note s.v.[1]

προειρημένοισι '*proclaimed*', combining 'spoken *before*' and 'stated *publicly*': see on 9 β 1 & 12.2 above s.vv. προείπωσι and προείπας.[2]—The proclamation was made in 8 δ 1.

ἐς (τὴν παρασκευήν) '*touching (their, our preparation(s))*' is most naturally taken as an adjunct to the preceding τοῖσι (. . .) προειρημένοισι, which allows it indirectly to specify χρᾶσθαι.

ποίεε . . . οὕτως ὅκως, literally '*act in the following way, in the way that*': the οὕτως here alone; the equally redundant expression at 1.209.5 in ποίεε ὅκως ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον is an instance of repetition (with variation of form) occasioned by the intervening clause.

(τοῦ θεοῦ) **παραδιδόντος** '(God) *permitting*, allowing, granting': the underlying notion is that of letting something pass *through* one's hands, passing it *on* rather than conferring it out of one's own resources; hence the opposition at 6.82.1 in εἴτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδοῖ (sc. πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος) εἴτε [οἱ] ἐμποδὼν ἕστηκε, to what is not so much withheld as thwarted. There is no call to limit the reference to ἐπ' Ἕλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, as STEIN wishes; the scope must be just as general and comprehensive as that of τῶν σῶν for the contrast to be effective.

τῶν σῶν '*what is yours*': it is left to the context to specify the reference; at 3.155.4 in ἤδη ὦν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ αἱρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα and *h.l.* to what it is your power to *do*, at 7.102.2 and 9.2.3 in the expression τὰ σὰ φρονεῖν to your considerations and interests.

ἐνδεήσει '*will . . . fall short* or—*be wanting*': the compound here alone in H.; the simple verb at 3.155.4 quoted in the preceding note is barely distinguishable in sense. Of the related adjective the most relevant instance is at 7.48 (Xerxes to Artabanus) εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα.[3]

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[1] P. 225.

[2] Pp. 64 & 184 respectively.

[3] The other three are at 1.32.8 where τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι is equivalent to ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται, 5.106.3 where τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἐών equals τί . . . ἐπιδιζήμενος, and 2.108.2, likewise with a genitive complement.

μηδέν '*(? in) nothing*': the parallel of 3.155.4 quoted in the last note but one suggests that *h.l.* μηδέν may be construed as accusative 'of respect' or 'adverbial' accusative with an impersonal τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει 'there will be lack, shortage of what is yours (to give) *in no respect*', rather than as nominative governing τῶν σῶν, '*none* of what is yours (to give) will be lacking'; cf. Pl. *Resp.* 345 D 3–5 ἐπεὶ τά γε αὑτῆς ὥστ' εἶναι βελτίστη ἱκανῶς δήπου ἐκπεπόρισται ἕως γ' ἂν μηδὲν ἐνδέῃ τοῦ ποιμενικὴ εἶναι.

τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τῶν σῶν . . . μηδέν '*the god . . . yours . . . nothing*': in balance with the words of Xerxes near the beginning of his first speech at 8 α 1 θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι, and so marking that the deliberations are now concluded.

18.4

τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

1 τούτων δὲ **a** | ὄψει **d**CP 2 ὑπερετίθεε D: ὑπετίθεε RSV

When these things had been said, they thereupon being roused by the vision, as soon as day came, Xerxes laid these things before the Persians, and Artabanus, who earlier was the only one seen to urge away, at that time was openly seen to be urging them on.

APPENDIX

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De Demosthenis dictione* [Περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως] 41 = Herodotus, *Historiae* VII 8 α–δ [*Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant.* Volumen Quintum: *Opusculorum.* Volumen Prius, ediderunt Hermannus Usener et Ludovicus Radermacher. Lipsiae, B.G. Teubner 1899, pp. 220–3]

φέρε δὴ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν τῆς τε αὐστηρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἡδείας ἁρμονίας μέσην εἶναι τήνδε τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὰ κράτιστα εἰληφέναι παρ' ἑκατέρας, ᾗ κέχρηται Ἡρόδοτος Ξέρξῃ περιθεὶς τὸν λόγον, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείας; μετακεκόμισται δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀτθίδα διάλεκτον ἡ λέξις·

α '"Ανδρες Πέρσαι, οὔτ' αὐτὸς καθηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδ' ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδένα χρόνον ἠτρεμήσαμεν, ἐξ οὗ παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου καθελόντος Ἀστυάγην· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτως ἐνάγει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπιοῦσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. ἃ μὲν δὴ Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ὁ ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατειργάσαντο ⟨καὶ προσεκτήσαντο⟩ ἔθνη, ἐπισταμένοις οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι.

2 ἐγὼ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον, ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τῇδε μηδ' ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσαις. φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώραν τε ἧς νῦν κεκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέραν παμφορωτέραν τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα, ἃ διανοοῦμαι πράττειν, ὑποθῶ ὑμῖν·

β μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι, ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν.

2 ὁρᾶτε μὲν δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον προθυμούμενον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετ' αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπέρ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι, πρὶν ἕλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἵ γε ἐμέ τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιοῦντες·

3 πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρᾳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ, ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλση καὶ τὰ ἱερά. δεύτερα

δὲ ἡμᾶς οἷα ἔδρασαν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν σφετέραν ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης ἐστρατήγουν, ἐπίστασθέ που πάντες.

γ τούτων μέντοι ἕνεκα ἀνώρμημαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοις πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν [τε] τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδείξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὅμορον οὖσαν.

2 οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὅμορον οὖσαν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὰς ἁπάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης ἐξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης.

3 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν· οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ὑπολείπεσθαι ἡμῖν, ὃ οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν εἰς μάχην, τούτων, ὧν ἔλεξα, ὑπεξῃρημένων. οὕτως οἵ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἕξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν οἵ τε ἀναίτιοι.

δ ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἄν μοι τάδε ποιοῦντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπειδὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον, εἰς ὃν ἡμῖν ἥκειν δοκεῖ, προθύμως ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας δεῖ παρεῖναι. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν ἔλθῃ ἔχων κατεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω αὐτῷ δωρεάν, ἣ δὴ τιμιωτάτη νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρου.

2 ποιητέα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν οὕτω. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκῶ, τίθημι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμῶν τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.᾽

M = Ambrosianus D 119 sup.; P = Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 58; B = Parisiensis bybliothecae nationalis gr. 1742; v = lectio post Aldinam uolgata; H = Herodotus

α **1** ὡς] ὡς γὰρ H | παρὰ Μήδων] παρὰ τῶν Μήδων v | ἀλλὰ θεός τε] πολλὰ θεός τε B | Καμβύσης] καβισης corr in καμβυσης P | πατήρ] π̄ρ̄ηρ΄ B **α 2** τοῦτον] τούτου v | λείψομαι] λείψομαι HP: λείψωμαι MBv | πρότερον] πρότερων M: corr. M^1 | γενομένων] γινομένων BP | τῇ om H | προσκτήσομαι] προσκτήσομαι H: προσκτήσωμαι MBPv | προσγινόμενον] προσγενόμενον MBP | ἧς] ἧς B: ἧν P | φλαυροτέραν] φαυλοτέραν BPv **β 1** Ἀθηναίους] Ἀθηναίοις B | πεποιήκασι] πεποιήκασιν B | Πέρσας] Πέρσαις M | πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρεῖον v ex H **β 2** ὃ] οὐ B | τετελεύτηκε] τελεύτηκε P | τιμωρήσασθαι] τιμωρήσεσθαι MBP | πρὶν] τρὶν BP | πυρώσω] περώσω BP | Ἀθήνας] Ἀθηναίας B | οἵ γε] οἵ σε B | πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν] πράττὸν πατέρα P sed uitium lineola deletur **β 3** Σάρδεις] γάρδεις BP | ἅμα v ex H: παρὰ MBP | Δᾶτίς] δἅτίς P | Ἀρταφέρνης] ἀταφέρνης BP **γ 1** εἰ] εἰς P **γ 2** χώραν corr in χωράν P | γε vH: τε MBP | Εὐρώπης] εὐρύπης corr in εὐρώπης B **γ 3** αὐτῶν] malim ἀνδρῶν cum H | ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν vM^1: ὑμῖν M^2BP: om H | ὃ οἷόν τε ἔσται] ὃ οἴονται B: τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε H | αἴτιοι] αἴτιοι H: ἀντίοι MBPv | ἕξουσι] ἕξουσι M | ἀναίτιοι] ἀναίτιοι H: ἀθηναῖοι MBPv **δ 1** χαρίζοισθε] χαρίζοισθε H: χαρίζεσθε MP^2: χαρίζεσθαι BP^1 | σημήνω] σημένω BP | ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν Sylburgius: ὑμῖν MBP: om H | ἔλθῃ] ἔλθοι MBPv | ἣ δὴ τιμιωτάτη Reiskius: ἤδη τιμιωτάτην ἣ MBP: δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα H | ἡμετέρου] τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ v

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